

THE QUARTERLY HISTORY JOURNAL

HISTORUM



VOLUME ONE - NUMBER ONE - 2012



1.

Historum the quarterly journal consists of the best writing from the **Historum** web site, an English language history forum whose membership is composed of history aficionados from all corners of this event filled globe we call home.

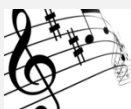
2.

Now that this journal has arrived we leave it to Historians to look at this accident and prove that it was inevitable. *[that's an old joke]*

3.

We find agreeable these words of jurist Lewis Powell, "History balances the frustration of 'how far we have to go' with the satisfaction of 'how far we have come.' It teaches us tolerance for the human shortcomings and imperfections which are not uniquely of our generation, but of all time."

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"I'm gonna sit right down and write myself a letter, and make believe it came from you."

Here we sit humming the words to an old pop tune while typing up a letter to ourself on account of this here be our first issue and there ain't nobody done wrote to us yet, no how, so since it is all electronic the old 'couldn't find a stamp' excuse won't fly, which means to our delight 'Stamps is history'; so get a grip on that pencil and shoot us something, even bad grammer can, you know, be cool such as this here run on sentence. omg.

Write us or right us!
We like getting mail.

U B Kwel,ok.

Thanx
Pedro



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in no particular order
because we couldn't figure out
how to number pages.
and because we know
browsing is half the fun.

*Tip: Use the thumbnail feature
to locate an article.*



Historum the Journal is a joint production of
Mountain Top Publishing and
Historum, the premier internet history forum
and a whole gang of great history buffs.



a message from the editorial staff

The idea of a Historum magazine was first expressed over two years ago and now we can announce it has arrived. And what fun it has been.

First we must thank all our members for your support, your input, and the large amount of material you have provided. Choices were not easy but the good news is that there is plenty of material for many future issues.

We could easily have published 200 pages. Even 500. However we had to admit it was time for us to put the issue "to bed" and let it stand at 173 pages.

Over time we expect the magazine to grow and find it's personality as it expresses the various moods that make history interesting.

We know you will like it... how could you not... you wrote it.
Enjoy!

JAMES JOYCE

and the Gaelic Revival

by Gile na Gile

The Joyce industry is very much an institution over here as you might expect; Portrait of the Artist is a regular feature on the Leaving Cert curriculum but Ulysses is probably the most widely unread national epic in history which is such a shame because despite its difficulty it contains the most authentic rendering of the Dublin brogue ever put into print. Its gratifying to learn that much of the slang and street expressions in circulation today; "crawthumper" "spondoolicks" "a drop of the craythur" were doing the rounds back when my grandfather was growing up in Dublin. Really, Ulysses its just an extended homage to ordinary Dublin folks; their wit, their cruelty, their poverty, their brutality, their illusions - all shone upon by a plethora of unidentified narrative voices who are by turns malevolent, empathic, knowing (and unknowing) or cold, detached and scientific.

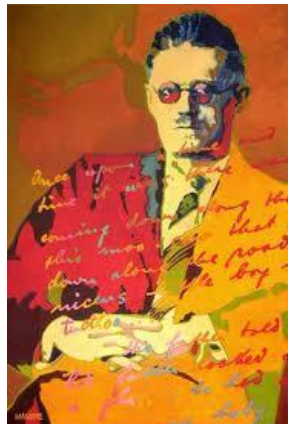
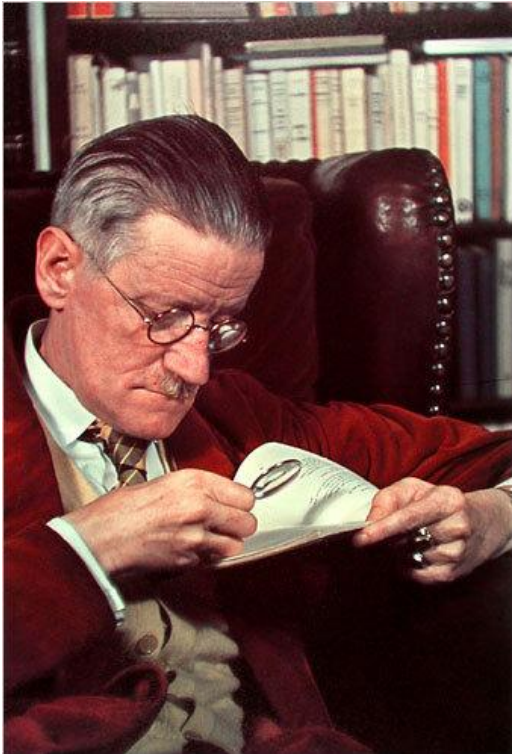


Whereas the tales in Dubliners and the Portrait hinge upon the epiphany - "where the whatness of a thing leaps out from the vestment of its appearance" (witness Duffy's horrible epiphany of his own isolation and Stephen's 'baptism' on Dollymount Strand) it is difficult to see the same device being deployed in Ulysses; the artist is instead indiscernible above and beyond his handiwork - "indifferent, like the God of the universe paring his nails". Which is one of the difficulties in ascribing to Joyce sentiments he may have towards the Irish language because the lengthiest treatment of 'nationalism' in Ulysses comes in the Cyclopes episode where the Citizen is extensively parodied by a sneering disembodied narrative voice who simply cannot be identified with the author - the sympathetic, all-knowing and omnipresent narrator of 19th century realist fiction. The capable guide that sits at your shoulders while you are reading Dickens, Elliot or Tolstoy and affects to have access to an all encompassing internally consistent moral universe is simply absent in the "modernist" Ulysses.



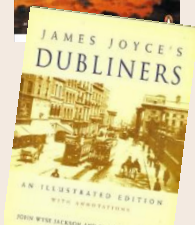
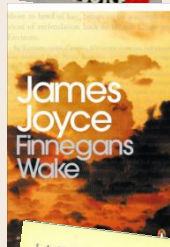
Generally it is held that realist fiction - which is the vast majority of novels - best works when this voice is omniscient,

In realist fiction you are obliged as an "impassioned" reader to follow the channels laid down by the author; there is an "authoritative" voice which guides you through the thoughts and feelings of the characters and which may pass extensive comment on each episode. Generally it is held that realist fiction - which is the vast majority of novels - best works when this voice is omniscient, or nearly so. Which is why Mark Twain I suppose had such a difficulty with Fennimore Cooper's narrative voice - the acknowledged compact between reader and author of being in assured hands was rattled by what he saw as Coopers basic incompetence and lack of knowledge of genuine Indian hunting and tracking techniques. Thus the illusion of the omniscient narrator was shattered.



There are different genres of course; realist fiction isn't all about the singular, authoritative voice - Laclos in *Les Liasons Dangereuses* and Bram Stoker in *Dracula* used the clever device of letters exchanged by the protagonists to inform us of the action thus dispensing with the need for a judgemental overseer. I see in *Dubliners* though, a paucity of narrative oversight; simple threadbare introductions are made which set the scene but as the action progresses in each short story we are often left wondering how we should react. How did the author intend this story to be received? The clues are very minimal and there is no overt denunciation or moralising by Joyce outside of the plain statement of the facts and conditions of a person's milieu. We are meant to piece it together ourselves; what was the significance of the nervous altar boy and the broken chalice in the 'Two Sisters'? Why isn't there any overt moral censure of the 'Two Gallants'? Why was Chandler like a 'Little Cloud'? Should 'Eveline' have emigrated with Frank? What was it precisely about the article 'A Painful Case' that triggered such a despairing response in Duffy?

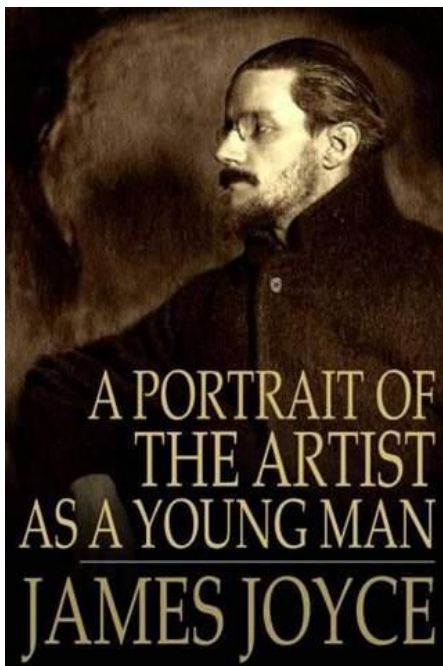
We cannot know, we can only surmise, because the author has stripped us of those reassuring certainties which are the hallmark of the conventional realist narrative. Having allowed the artifice of the third person narrative slide into the background; having invisibilised the 'voice of authority' in *Dubliners*, Joyce proceeds to have us marshalled in



Ulysses by a panoply of 'authorial' claimants as though the unruly Greek pantheon had descended and usurped the functions of a defunct one-dimensional monotheism. The notion of 'a God' implies a singular ideal perspective from which fragments of 'the truth' may be refracted and alighted upon by discerning mortals and the singular "good shepherd" narrator of realist fiction is the 'shadow' which traditionally performed the function of this deity.

In *Dubliners*, Joyce doesn't want his readers to behave as a dutiful flock obeying instructions from the omniscient eye; he teases them away from this reliance and in *Ulysses* he shows why by revealing the unmerciful reality of a world without steady rapports but one nonetheless where there is an unparalleled freedom. A necessary preparation I would have thought for combating the characteristic afflictions of the age; be it imperialist nationalism or the rise of fascism. Like much of the literature and the arts of the pre-war period Joyce's stylistic experiments implied a violent shifting away from inherited assumptions, a definitive break from established world-views typically encapsulated in unquestioning loyalty to crown, church and country. The early Modernist period (1890 -1914) in fact has fascinating examples of stylistic innovations across the spectrum of arts - in poetry, music, painting and drama all challenging a conventional unipolar viewpoint and urging instead an appreciation of the 'real' multi-perspectived world.

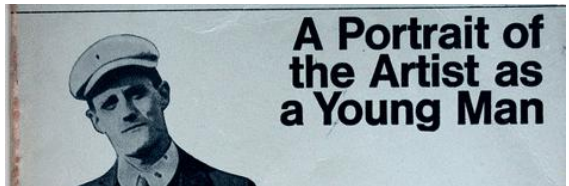
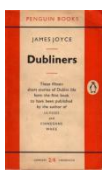
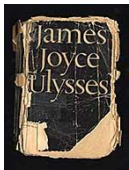
It's an interesting question then about Joyce's relationship to the Gaelic Revival; it may be supposed as a linguist and evident reveller in and appreciator of the varied powers of language that Joyce would be naturally sympathetic to the calls for a revitalisation of the Gaelic language, understanding perhaps more than most, how crucial language is in helping to form identities and mould a people's peculiar outlook through its idioms and so on. In fact, you'd have to wonder whether there's ever been a writer more self-conscious, in his art, of the effects on his readers of each particular nuance that a chosen word may convey.



It was one of the preoccupations of Daedalus in the 'Portrait' where at one point he found himself walking 'among heaps of dead language'. So many words and phrases had become stale and meaningless, grown rotten through age and usage; the image of the effaced tessera is deployed where commerce has worn down the bust of Caesar. There's even a lengthy segment in Stephen Hero where Daedalus ponders, whilst reading Skeat's 'Etymology', how many today are aware of the original meanings of the words they habitually use. This etymological ignorance represented yet another aspect of the generalised decay which he saw all around him and I suppose it's among the first things to note about the Wake where there is an attempt to highlight the provenance of language; by taking it asunder, reconnecting it and forcing readers to reflect on its fragmented origins.

The question then is that given his awareness of the importance of the semiotic roots of language why does the notion abound that Joyce was hostile to organisations such as the Gaelic League who were attempting to promote it? First of all, we have the surviving sections of Stephen Hero were Daedelus argues with McCann, his nationalist university 'friend', (insofar as the irritatingly super aloof Stephen can be said to have any friends) against the notion that the revitalisation of Gaelic should be an imperative of the nationalist cause. He goes to the Gaelic League Irish classes but this is only a pretence to get into the knickers of Emma Cleary, refuses to pay their sub and manages to get in a few jabs at its founder, Michael Cusack, who returns in Ulysses as 'the Citizen' - depicted as an almost troglodytic hard-core nationalist who attempts to bounce a cash register off Bloom's head for his impudence in declaring himself (a Jew) a member of the Irish nation.

Of course there were so many changes in the later revised version of Stephen Hero (which became 'A Portrait') - and one of them was the curious omission of the earlier scathing remarks on the folly of the nationalists in pressing for Irish language reform. Instead, we are given Stephen's famous reflection on the curious state of linguistic dispossession that marks the Irish experience;



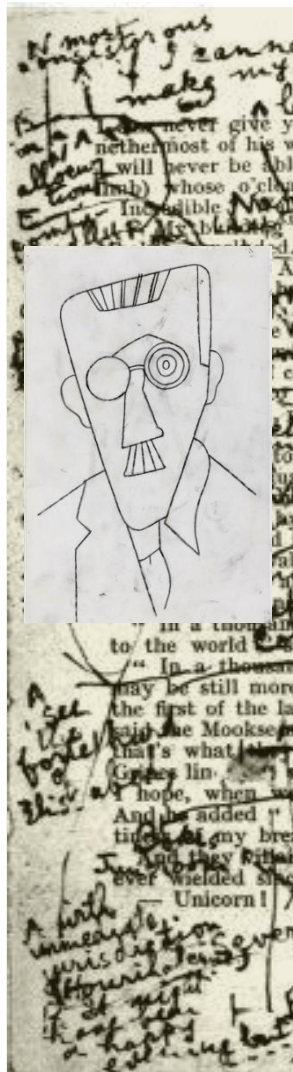
"The little word seemed to have turned a rapier point of his sensitiveness against this courteous and vigilant foe. He felt with a smart of dejection that the man to whom he was speaking was a countryman of Ben Jonson. He thought: The language in which we are speaking is his before it is mine. How different are the words home, Christ, ale, master, on his lips and on mine! I cannot speak or write these words without unrest of spirit. His language, so familiar and so foreign, will always be for me an acquired speech. I have not made or accepted its words. My voice holds them at bay. My soul frets in the shadow of his language."



This is a really shocking about turn, clearly at odds with the negative sentiments Joyce allowed the earlier (younger) Stephen to express. What was the reason for this? I think it's simply to do with maturity on Joyce's part and the realisation that the direction of his art, which is increasingly becoming concerned with narrative and the conventions of language - (the outline of *Ulysses* is already being formed in his mind by 1907) - cannot allow any longer this discrepancy between his hero, Stephen, blithely castigating the Gaelic Leaguers for their 'weakness' in feting the importance of the retention of a native language whilst he himself is about to deploy in *Ulysses* a complex narrative strategy which requires a readership sophisticated enough to recognise these multiple shifts in language registers.

If language and narrative are themselves going to become the focus of his art then he can't very well be seen quashing a movement which is attempting to increase the range and depth of available linguistic/conceptual territory. It's the fusion of tongues, of 'language games' and 'speech registers', the collapse, mergence and ultimately the destruction of formerly dominant metanarratives (religion, family, colonialism, narrowly conceived nationalism) which characterises the exuberance of the *Wake* and amount to Joyce's own brand of 'nationalist' reclamation - it's no accident that 'After the Race' is the only upbeat tale in *Dubliners* where French, American, English, Italian and Irishman all merge to drink and carouse without inhibition.

This is Joyce's conception of freedom and the perennial death's claw that hangs over the 'Dubliners' is the ubiquitous stultifying morality of the Church. It touches every character in one way or another, even Duffy, who only attends its rituals out of a sense of duty but his 'intimacy difficulties' ultimately spring from the dogmas stitched into him as a child. 'Narrative' also implies worldview and 'structures of feeling' which Joyce readily deconstructs if only to offer a disjointed assemblage from which a new world can be glimpsed. His difficulty (as a mature thinker) with nationalism and the revival movement is that neither displays any conception of the depths of change required; in that sense, considering the lengths he went to excavate the subterranean bowels of the Irish psyche he may rightly claim to be more nationalist than the nationalists themselves; if only they knew it. Only in literature, he once said, can the consciousness of a people be glimpsed.





the AROMA of old books and coffee

“What is the oldest book you own?” asked **Brisieis** in a Historum thread. As expected our historians book shelves hold a large range of subjects; the most frequently mentioned tome* was the family bible. Such as the 1880 edition Salah’s German ancestors brought to America. [*tome sounds oh so, historcal]

DavidM also has a family bible one that has been handed down for three generations. He notes with a cerain wistfulness that religious affection has not been handed down with it.

Poetry tomes were also readily found on bookshelves but none as old as the 1793 German poetry book owned by **Comet**.

The oldest book and the one that I would love to handle is **Chookie**’s 1714 edition of “*A Cloud of Witnesses*” which he said, “ is basically a collection of dying statements from Covenanters who were about to be hanged.” Sounds like something to be read on a windy, rainy night by candle light.

I am still intrigued by **Cocyabut**’s book, an old cook book that he said also told you how to build an out-house. I’d like to see the plans for that; could use a place where the kids won’t bother me. Never mind... I know there is no such place. I got kids that think daddy showers with his pockets on!

The oldest history book in **LouiseC**’s collection is her copy of Queen Victoria's *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life In The Highlands*. Inside the date says 1868, but she doesn’t think it is first edition. But the best part is it was cheap. The happy find of a good book in a thrift shop or carboot sale was the threads recurrent theme.

Speaking of charity shop’s... **Avon** related how for 1£ he found an 1896 first edition of Walter Pater’s *Renaissance*. Boy! am I envious. Wonder how I can talk him out of it? Does he speak American?

Setting Charles Dickens right – *by Chookie*

I'm going to tell you about a literary character based on a real person. That literary character is Ebenezer Scrooge and his mere existence is an insult to the man whose tombstone Charles Dickens misread.

Ebenezer Scroogie was a successful merchant, vintner and Town Councillor (or Baillie) in Edinburgh. He held the first contract to supply whisky to the Royal Navy in Leith and was also responsible for supplying the drink for King George IV's visit to Edinburgh in 1822. This alone would have moved him into the "Fortune 500" if such a concept had existed at the time.

Ebenezer Scroogie was a cousin of Adam Smith. He was born in Kirkcaldy but I can't find his date of birth (due mainly to the fact that I can't find which parish his birth was registered in...) he died in 1836 and is buried in Canongate kirkyard in the Royal Mile (it's the one with the statue of Robert Ferguson outside the east side of the gate). Dickens is thought to have misread the inscription on his tombstone while on a lecture tour in 1842.

Dickens was thought to have created the character of Ebenezer Scrooge after stumbling across the wealthy trader's tombstone in the Canongate kirkyard while killing time on a lecture visit to the capital in 1842. He was shocked by the apparently hard-hearted inscription, "Meanman", later writing in a notebook: "To be remembered through eternity only for being mean seemed the greatest testament to a life wasted." While I don't know why Dickens was haunting graveyards in Edinburgh (or anywhere else for that matter), I can and will speculate; (1) he was seeking a sexual liaison, (2) he was caught short, (3) he was drink

taken and didn't know where he was. But that's all speculative. (Mind you, he had been a student at Edinburgh University and we all know what students are like).

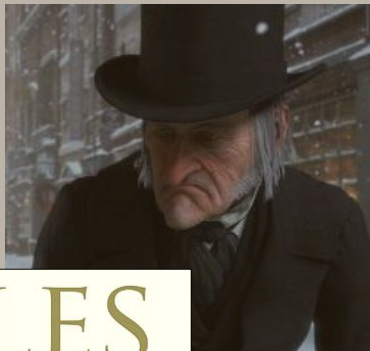
I also wonder how he managed to misread the inscription.

Our original Ebenezer was, in modern parlance a "party animal". Scroogie was known as a dandy and terrible philanderer who had several sexual liaisons which made him the talk of the town. He was a jovial and kindly man, not the mean-spirited miser with which he was associated. He had a lot in common with a certain William Brodie with the exception of criminality and no unacknowledged children.

What Dickens, who published *A Christmas Carol* the following year, had failed to realise was that the tombstone had actually read "Meal Man" in recognition of Scroogie's successful career as a grain merchant. Dickens misread this as a 'mean man' and noted in his diary the shock of this description even amongst traditionally parsimonious Scots. Thus the character Ebenezer Scrooge came into being in *A Christmas Carol*, first published in 1843, and Scroogie forever acquired an ill-deserved reputation.

Many historians and literary experts are unaware of the city's claim to be the origin of the story, with the tombstone which inspired Dickens removed in the 1930s to make way for a redevelopment of the graveyard, best known as being the final resting place of his better known cousin, the economist Adam Smith.

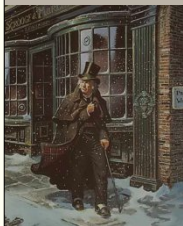
The moral of this little tale is never let the facts get in the way of a good story....



CHARLES DICKENS



Thank you
Chookie.
I needed
that.



John Greenleaf Whittier

by Pedro



When John Greenleaf Whittier died in 1895, obituaries across the nation noted that America had lost one of “her noblest and most illustrious sons”. Newspaper accounts also pointed out that the Quaker poet had not achieved greatness in battle and blood but through the peaceful pursuits of a literary life.

For over half a century he was pre-eminent among the century’s most illustrious men of letters. In his time Whittier was generously accorded a fame that today is given to rock stars.

When I was a barefoot boy, cheeky and tanned, there still walked about people who could remember, after fifty plus years, a Whittier live. This live memory may account for my outer child being ‘forced’ to memorize *Snowbound* and other lines of this New England poet. But the joke was on us; we eventually realized the worth of the ‘force’.

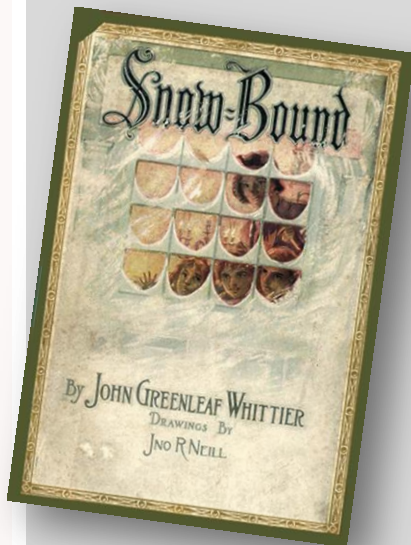
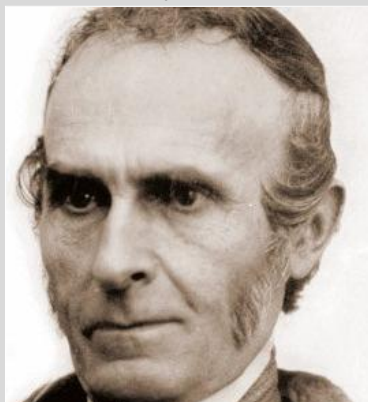
I have been told that the individual suffers two deaths. The first time is when the body dies. The second time occurs when the last person with our living memory dies.

So the question is, ‘Why an obit of someone who has already twice died?’

The answer is like the tag line to a bad joke, “You had to be there.”

This obit is not about Whittier but about the death of nature’s voice in that whole breed of 19th century bards; we can call it the third death.

The ancient sounds of the forest primeval are barely heard in our brave new world of amplified advertising. Therefore we must share that remembrance with Whittier et al. I only pray that my generation is not the last and that this third form of death is a premature announcement. Meanwhile let us take comfort in his writings and enjoy the world he found worth living in. For us schooled in Western thought remembering our poets may be considered our form of ancestor worship. Requiem In Pacem, John. I got lots of remembers.



John Greenleaf Whittier

He was born on a farm in Haverhill, Massachusetts, in 1807, and from boyhood to early manhood, his years were spent in working on the farm. His chances for education were very meager; the district school was only in session one term in the winter, and even then he could not always attend. The books to which he had access were very few, and these little calculated to create poetic tastes. But the truth of the saying, "Poets are born, not made," was verified in him. He began early writing rhymes. His first poem was slipped under the door of the Free Press editorial office, and was published when he was about nineteen years of age. This led to his forming the acquaintance of the editor and manager, William Lloyd Garrison, who gave him much encouragement, and by whose advice he made an extra effort towards educating himself, and attended the academy two terms. Soon afterward he began his public and political career as editor of the American Manufacturer, a protectionist paper.

The following year, 1830, he accepted the editorship of the Weekly New England Review, at Hartford, and from this time he took his place among the literary men of the day. He was, however, called home on the death of his father, to take charge of the farm; but in this arduous toil he found time to contribute to several papers and magazines, and to indulge his taste for poetical writing.

In religion Whittier was a Quaker, and opposed to bigotry and oppression in any form. His sympathies were early enlisted in the anti-slavery cause, and he was unsparing in his denunciation of the evil, both in his poetical and prose writings. At first he suffered much persecution for his zeal, and his writings on this unpopular theme brought him little reward or fame; but he lived to see his efforts and his works appreciated everywhere in America. He is eminently the poet of New England and of America. A great lover of nature, he has immortalized the scenes endeared to him by the associations of childhood. His "Snow Bound," on which, more than any other piece he has written, his reputation as a poet rests, is not excelled by any similar work in the English language. It is national and biographical, giving a sketch of his own family, and a vivid picture of winter life in New England.

His writings embrace the dramatic, the lyric, the epic, devoted chiefly to the legends of the Indians, the moral and religious. Among his ballads—Maud Muller, The Songs of Labor, The Angel of Buena Vista, Barbara Fritchie, and many others, are almost universally known. His moral and religious poems bear record of the purity and simplicity of his creed—to his trust and faith.

Obituaries as HISTORY

Howard Carter, 64, Egyptologist

Dies 3 March 1939 *from The New York Times*

LONDON, March 2.--Howard Carter, Egyptologist who earned world fame for his discovery and exploration, in association with the fifth Earl of Carnarvon, of the tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen, died in his London home today at the age of 66.

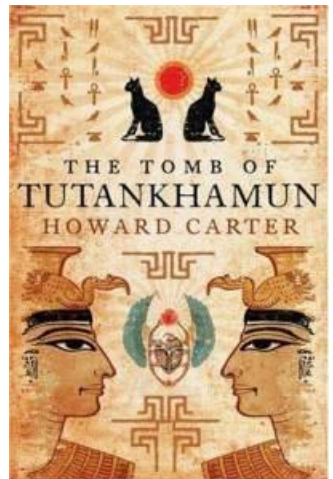
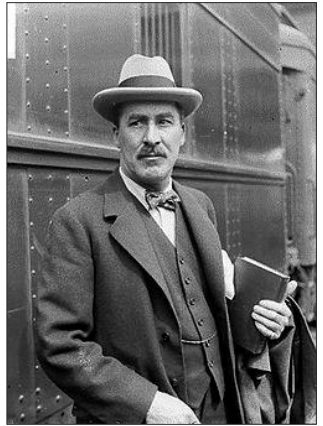
His Great Discovery

After working as an archaeological excavator in Egypt for more than thirty years, Mr. Carter stumbled upon the most dramatic discovery in the history of archaeology--the unearthing of the tomb of the Pharaoh Tut-ankh-Amen, who ruled Egypt for a brief period more than 3,200 years ago.

To a modern world recovering from the World War his discovery brought a complete picture of the colorful civilization of the Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt about which little had been previously known. The splendor of the tomb and its rich furnishings within it revealed a Golden Age of arts and crafts equal to any other period of ancient times.

Mr. Carter and many others before him had explored the entire length of the Valley of the Kings near Luxor, where some twenty-seven kings had been buried, but plunderers had ravaged the tombs through the centuries and there was little left of value. Plunderers had found their way into one chamber of the tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen, but the tomb itself containing the mummy of the Pharaoh had been untouched either by desecrators or by time itself.

When Mr. Carter and his associates entered the burial chamber in 1923 it was as though they were returning to the funeral ceremonies of more than thirty centuries ago.



Opening Revived Legends

The opening of the tomb revived legends of a "Pharaoh's Curse," which was supposed to cause the death of any one who disturbed the sleep of the ancient rulers. Twelve members of the original group that had been present at the opening of the tomb died within the next seven years, including the Earl of Carnarvon, who financed the excavations, but he had been in bad health.

Mr. Carter himself, however, was the best refutation of the curse. Afflicted with bad health from his youth, he spent nearly fifty years in Egypt searching for and exploring the ruins of the tombs of Pharaohs and must have been subject to the finest collection of Egyptian curses in existence.

Born in Swaffham, Norfolk, in 1874, he was the son of John Carter, a painter of animals, and first engaged in the field of archaeology as a painter and draftsman. Because of ill health he received his schooling privately under tutors, and at the age of 17 he joined his first expedition to Egypt. In 1892 he assisted Professor Flinders Petrie, one of his teachers, on an expedition financed by Lord Amherst.

After nearly ten years in Egypt he was appointed by the Egyptian Government as Inspector General of the Antiquities Department, and began a series of scientific investigations that was to lead him to the tomb of "King Tut."



Found Other Royal Tombs

On behalf of the Egyptian Government, he discovered the royal tomb of Mentuhetep, and started investigations in the Valley of Kings, where he discovered the tombs of Hatshepsut, Tehuti-mes IV and many private tombs. He then carried out explorations of the Theban Necropolis on behalf of the Earl of Carnarvon and discovered the valley temple of Hatshepsut, the tomb of Amen-hotep I, and the cemetery of the eighteenth dynasty queens.

So far his work as an archaeologist was known only within his profession. In November, 1922, came the discovery which, with the opening of the tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen a few months later, was to carry his name throughout the civilized world and re-create an interest in the glories of ancient Egypt. For his discovery was more than an archaeological find. It was the revealing in dramatic miniature of the whole civilization of an ancient race in a manner that brought out the human, rather than the scientific aspects.

For months Mr. Carter and his associates had moved an estimated 70,000 tons of sand and gravel in what seemed a hopeless search for a new tomb. Then, at the corner of the excavated tomb of Rameses VI, a workman found a step cut in bedrock. Further work disclosed the beginning of a steep flight of rock steps leading downward below the bed of the valley.

Months of Digging Needed

The work of clearing away sand and rubble later revealed impressions of the royal necropolis seal--the jackal-like dog of Anubis over the traditional nine foes of Egypt. While examining these impressions Mr. Carter noticed a doorway buried in the sand. He opened a hole and thrust through a flashlight. It revealed a passage beyond the doorway.

Several months were required before enough debris could be cleared away to make it possible to enter the tomb itself. Finally a large hole was cut into the doorway and Mr. Carter and his associates entered the "eternal resting place" of the Egyptian king. In the dim light they could see the glint of gold everywhere.

As the scene grew clearer, a whole roomful of objects came into view--couches, chairs, alabaster vases, chariots, a throne, stools and chests, all glistening with inlay and gold, and a sealed doorway leading still beyond. When the doorway was opened a wall of gold was revealed--the side of an immense gilt shrine shielding the sarcophagus of the buried king.

The tomb consisted of four chambers, each enclosed by golden doors and containing more than 600 groups of precious objects. In the innermost chamber Mr. Carter found the sarcophagus, each of its four corners carved in high relief with one of the four guardian goddesses. Within the monument the King lay, enclosed in three coffins nested one within the other and each forming an effigy of the monarch. The inmost coffin enclosing the mummy of the king was of solid gold.

The body of the king was bound in bandages of fine linen and his head was protected by a solid gold mask. He was profusely anointed with sacred unguents and covered with amulets and emblems.

An anatomical examination of the mummy indicated that the king was hardly more than 18 years old at his death.

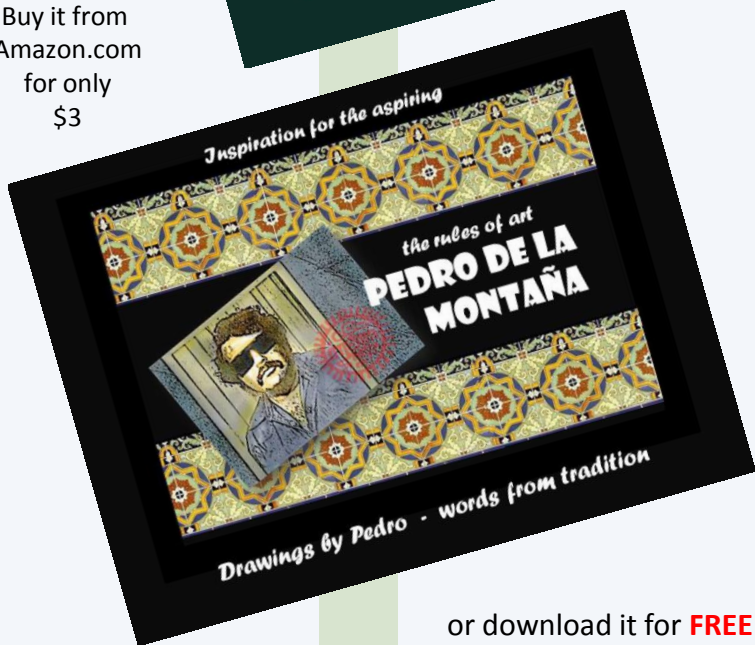
Mr. Carter superintended the work of preparing to move the contents of the tomb to the Cairo Museum--the task took ten years--and then turned to other researches. In 1931 he announced that he planned to search for the tomb of Alexander the Great in Asia Minor, but he had been inactive in recent years.

In recognition of his achievements, Yale University conferred upon Mr. Carter the honorary degree of Doctor of Science, and the Real Academia de la Historia of Spain made him an honorary member. He was author of a number of books on Egyptology, including two volumes on the tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen, and was a frequent contributor to scientific journals.



I am
perfectly
content with
a good book
and a hot cup
of coffee.

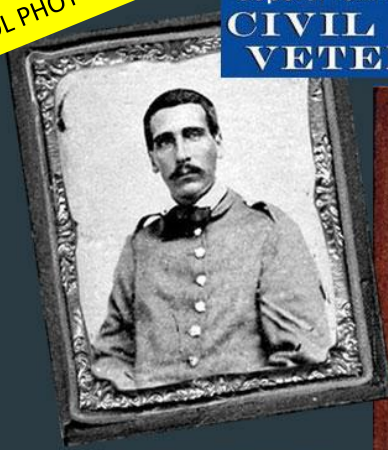
Here is a good book.
Buy it from
Amazon.com
for only
\$3



or download it for **FREE**
Ask me to send you the link by PM.
The coffee you will find in the kitchen. Help yourself.

COOL PHOTOS DEPT.

Coporal Tom West C.S.A.
**CIVIL WAR
VETERAN**



**SO MANY TO
REMEMBER**



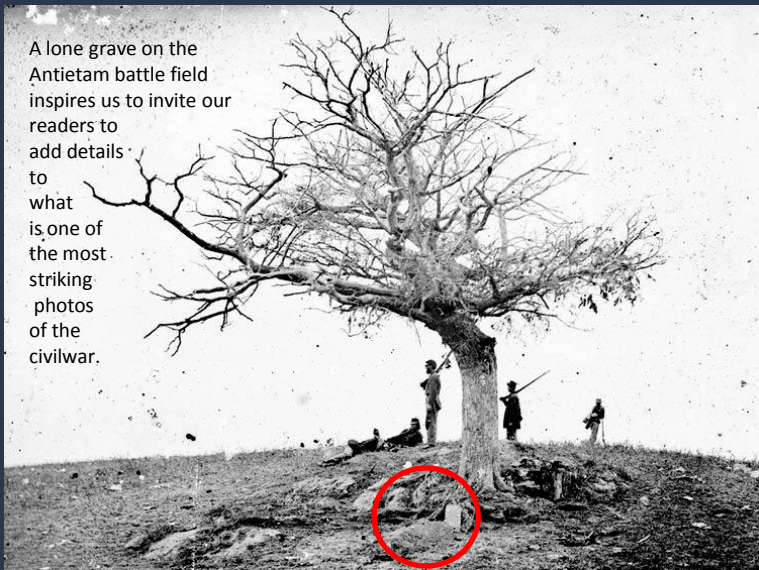
Do you have
a favorite old
photo in
your family
album? How
about that
box in the
attic?

Tell us about
them and
please send
a copy along.

This is the
kind of stuff
Historum
members
salivate over.

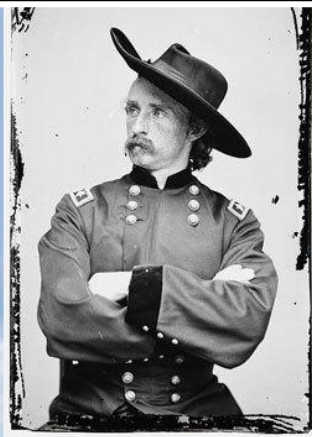


A lone grave on the Antietam battle field inspires us to invite our readers to add details to what is one of the most striking photos of the civilwar.





Another cool photo - this time of
William Tecumseh Sherman
so cool that it had to be included because it turned out so nicely.

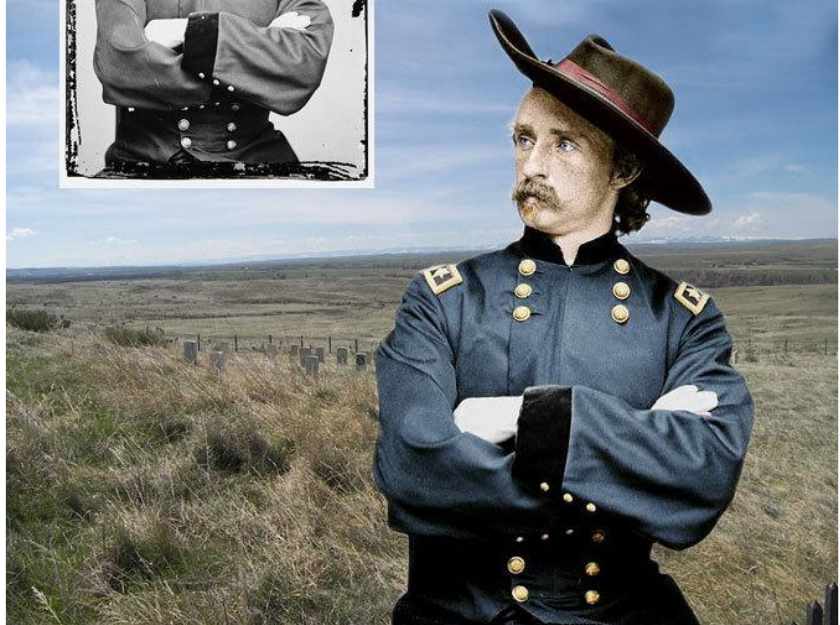


Custer then... Little Big Horn today.

by PEDRO el colorizer

time to make: 2 hr. 07 min.

Level of difficulty: low (low - medium - high)



**WE NEED AN ARTICLE TO GO WITH THIS PICTURE.
HOW ABOUT IT HISTORUMITES?
LETS SEE WHAT YOU CAN DO.**

a two minute American

Benjamin Huger (pronounced Eú-zhay) was born into a military family. His father was adjutant general during the War of 1812 and his mother was the daughter of a Revolutionary War commander.

Benjamin graduated 8th in his class at West Point, 1825. His first assignment was to artillery, however the military being the military, had him doing topographical duty which he did for three years before becoming an ordnance office. For 12 years he commanded the armory at Fort Monroe, Va. He was also a member of the War Department ordnance board. As part of his education he spent a year in Europe studying their methods of Continental warfare. During the Mexican War he was chief of ordnance to Winfield Scott. In three campaigns he won as many brevets, including that of colonel.

Returning to the U.S. in 1848, he served on a board that developed new artillery tactics, he also superintended armories in Virginia, Maryland, and else where in the South. In 1852 South Carolina officials presented him with a dress sword in recognition of the honor his career had cast upon his native State".

When he joined the Confederate army he was given the rank of brigadier general on 17 June 1861. For months later he was given the rank of major general. Put in charge of the Department of Norfolk, he considered his district to weak to prevent a Union assault. When Union troops did approach, May 1862, Huger, without first consulting his superiors, dismantled his works, torched the city's naval yard, and

destroyed the *CSS Virginia*, the *Merrimac*, (see image below) and evacuated Norfolk as well as neighboring Portsmouth.

More controversy came while he was in command of Roanoke Island, N.C. When troops there surrendered to a Union expeditionary force (Feb 1862) the Confederate Congress held an investigation into Huger's failure to reinforce the. Despite questionable evaluation of his talents Jefferson Davis subsequently gave him a division under General Joseph Johnson, which he led at Seven Pines and in many of the Seven Days' battles.

In several of these engagements, most notably White Oak and Malvern Hill, his leadership came under question once again, which led to his being relieved of active command (12 July 1862) and to his being relegated to artillery and ordnance inspection duties.

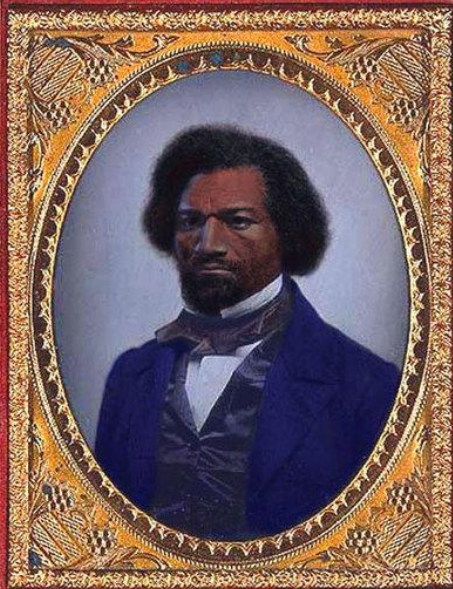
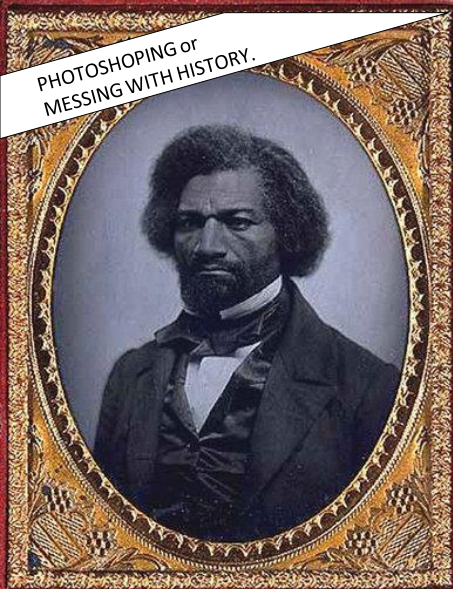
In this he did an efficient job both in the Western theater and later (after 1863) in the Trans-Mississippi Department. In poor health by the close of hostilities, he retired to a life of farming in North Carolina, then in Virginia. He eventually returned to Charleston, dying there 7 December 1877.



Civil War biography



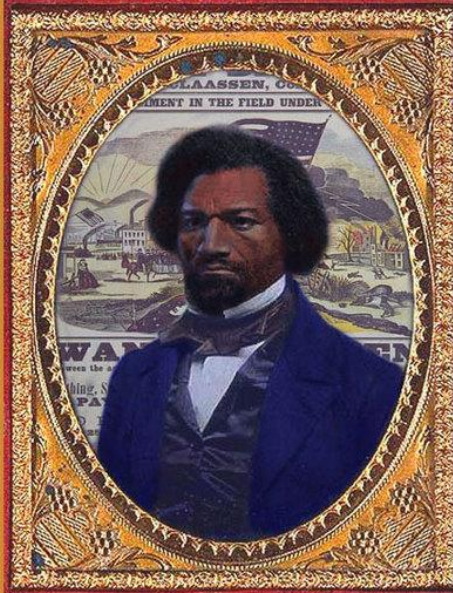
PHOTOSHOPING or
MESSING WITH HISTORY.



First a period frame was
added to
Mr. Fredrick Douglas
and
then it was colorized.

[note to art students: observe
the use of cool reflected light
on the right side of his face]

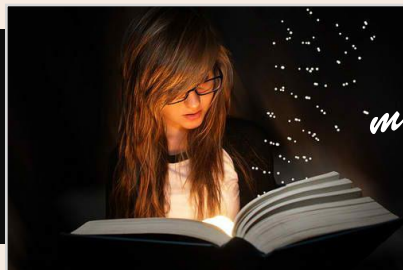
Then for fun a civil war
recruitment poster was
added to the background.
Is this an anachronism?





A RAW RECRUIT

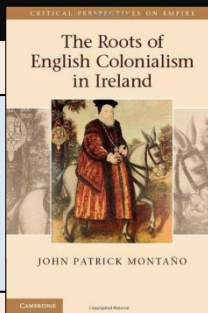
Civil War time picture of Washington Gardner just after being mustered into the United States Service in 1861 when sixteen years of age. He was the youngest of five brothers, three of whom were captains, the aggregate of whose terms of service was almost exactly sixteen years. Young Gardner served over three years in the ranks, participating in some of the hardest campaigns and battles on the war. In May, 1864, he was severely wounded in action.



mini Book Reviews by Miss Redd

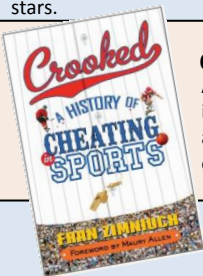
John Patrick Montano, "The Roots of English Colonialism in Ireland"

This is a major new study of the cultural foundations of the Tudor plantations in Ireland and of early English imperialism. John Patrick Montano traces the roots of colonialism in the key relationship of cultivation and civility in Tudor England and shows the central role this played in Tudor strategies for settling, civilising and colonising Ireland. 5 stars.



Crooked: A History of Cheating in Sports By Fran Zimniuch

As long as people have played games, there has been a temptation to win (or intentionally lose) by cheating. Infamous cases throughout the history of sport abound, from the "thrown" 1919 World Series to the recent doping confessions of track star Marion Jones. 5 stars.



American Armoured Cars 1940-1945

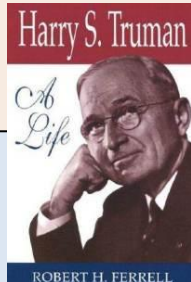
By Chris Ellis and Peter Chamberlain
Almarks - weapons series. 27 pages. 4 stars.



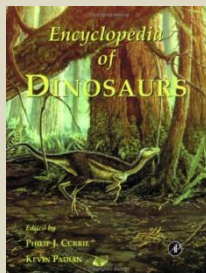
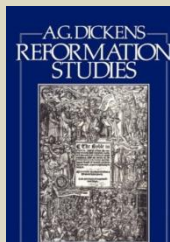
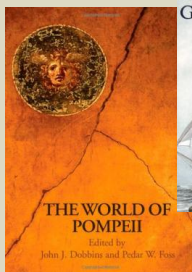
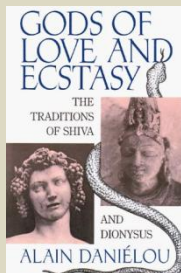
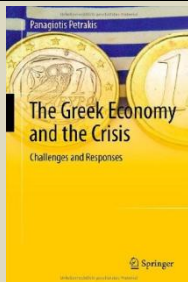
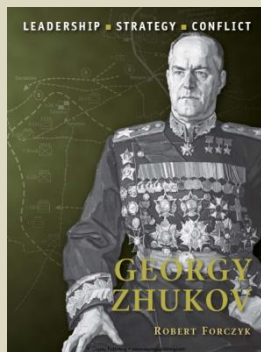
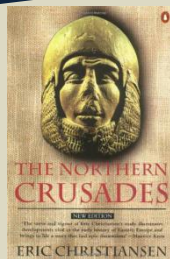
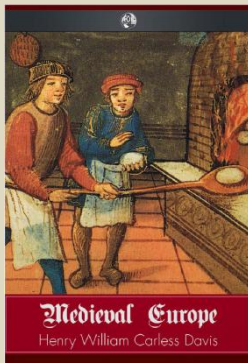
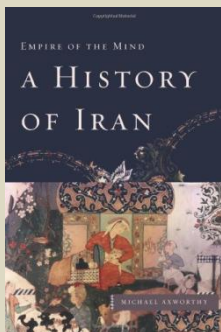
200 pages of photos of **Henri Matisse** & and his art. A very unborring bio by Pedro de la Montaña.
\$2 or \$3 or sometimes free. 5 stars.

Robert H. Ferrell, "Harry S. Truman: A Life"

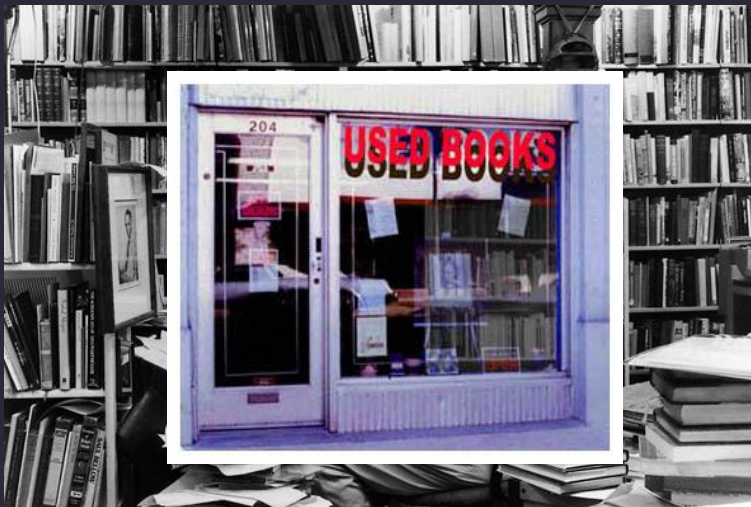
A prodigiously researched and engrossing study of the 33rd president. I give it 5 stars.



MORE WORTHY READS



Those were the days . . . a nostalgia burp by Pedro



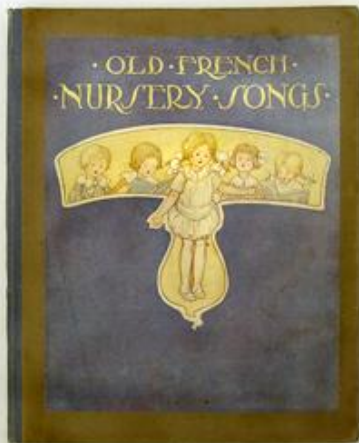
AND NOW FOR A FEW PAGES ABOUT BOOKS...

There are as many reason for collecting books as there are pages in a Russian novel. Some people collect books as an investment, others for some special interest or to build up a professional library. Others collect for the sheer joy of being in touch with the past. I collect from a need to be submerged in ink and paper, to swim among the rising and falling tides of human thought. The phrase 'book collector' usually invokes a particular class, a gentry, of which I am not a member. Simply put: I am a hoarder of books. I suffer a contentment deficit unless surrounded by books. To remedy this I have owned, at various times, two used book stores. The photo above is the shop I operated for about three years. It must be true that a book shop is the reflection of the owner. Not much to look at on the outside but inside a wealth of occasionally organized knowledge. It may also be true that the owner, like the store, lacked breadth, yet once inside there is a surprising depth. Narrow as it was the store ran the length of a city block. And could it ever hold books.!

Blessed be the joy of unexpectedness jumping out at you.

...and now let's take a few thing down from the bookshelf. ➡

Examples of an art that is passing into history...



Old French Nursery Songs

Music arranged by Horace Mansion.

Pictures and illustrations by Anne Anderson.

London: Waverly Book Co., Ltd.

No date of publication indicated; believed to be early 1900s.

87pp. Colored frontispiece.

Illustrations accompany each music score, with words in French. Included are such songs as "Sur le Pont d'Avignon." In a pictorial cardboard binding with dark blue lettering.

Those are the plain facts that barely hint of these fine examples of the bookmakers art.



...by which we mean the art of book making

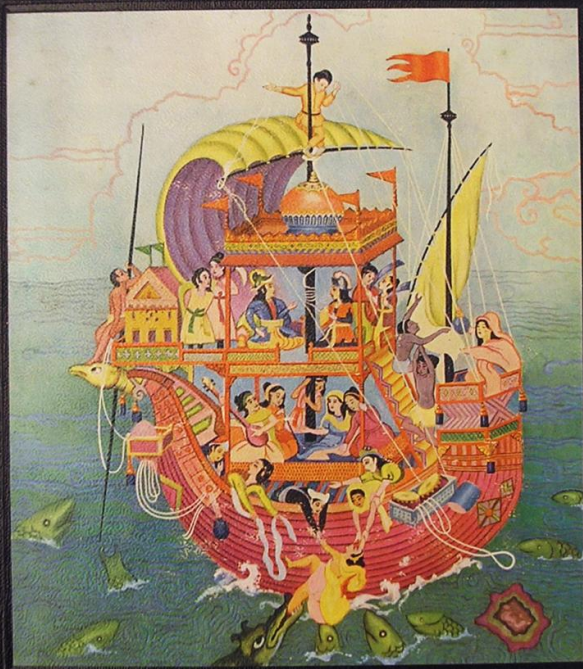
A PICTURESQUE TALE OF PROGRESS



CONQUESTS I

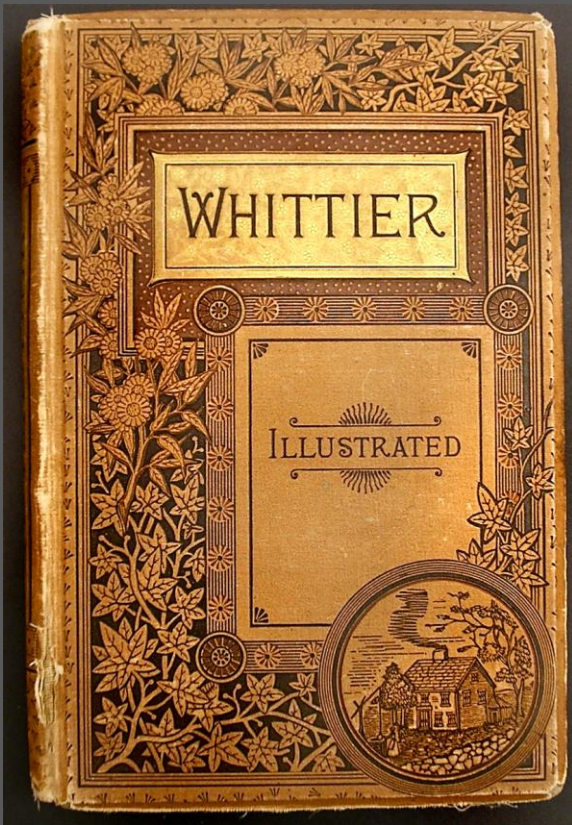
A lot of outdated (?) children's books
are a veritable museum of delightful art.

A PICTURESQUE TALE OF PROGRESS



EXPLORATIONS I

I collect books, usually discards found in second hand stores, because their value lies in the love that went into making them.
Their monetary value is of no value.



The Complete Poetical Works of John Greenleaf Whittier

Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Company. The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1884. 326 pp. including index. With frontispiece illustration protected by tissue, titled: "For near her stood the little boy Her childish favor singled – page 252." Copyright page followed by a Note by the Author to the edition of 1857 and dated 18th of March, 1857 Amesbury. This edition contained the first complete collection of Whittier's (1807-1892) poetical writings. Small illustrations throughout. Bound in brown cloth. Pictorial front cover worn at edges and beginning to tear at lower front crease. Edges bumped. Black lettering on gilt on the cover; black lettering on spine. Burgundy endpapers, with front endpapers beginning to tear at lower front crease. Browning at edges of text pages and on pp 120-121. Otherwise, pages clean with no markings. Gilt on all three edges of book.

History of the Spanish-American War: Embracing a complete review of Our Relations With Spain. With numerous original engravings and colored plates, accurately portraying the scenes described.

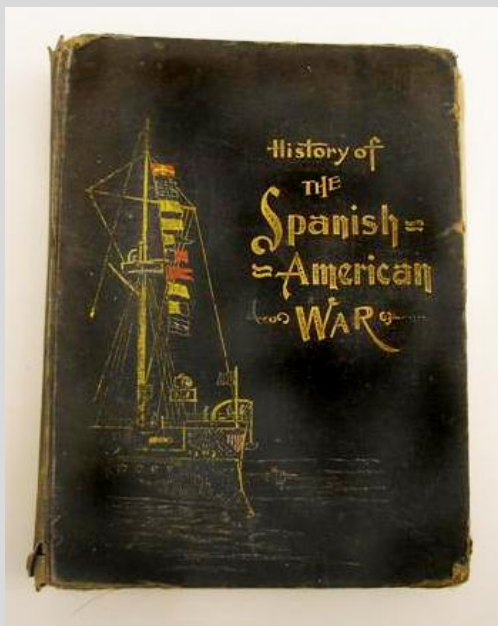
Henry Watterson.

New York: Western W. Wilson.

Copyright 1898. 474 pp.

Frontispiece of the "War Cabinet" protected by tissue.

A detailed history of the conflict starting with the author's interpretation of the causes of the war. In a worn and torn cloth pictorial cover with gilt lettering. Front cover and spine are loose but still intact. Back cover also is coming loose from binding. Illustrations throughout, with three color plates that are torn and appear to have been reattached. Text is complete with no apparent markings or inscriptions. Browning to page edges throughout. But other than these defects I am glad to have a copy solely for its artistic marriage of image and type. Some times I buy an old book simply because it is a thing of beauty.



PLEASE!
MAKE REGULAR VISITS
TO YOUR LOCAL
THRIFT SHOP,
SECOND HAND STORE
AND RESCUE
AN ABANDONED BOOK
and give refuge
to a battered book.
Remember: It's not their fault.

a man who knew how to have fun !

SIR CHARLES SEDLEY

5TH BARONET

by Halomanuk

This man, prominent in the Restoration period of King Charles II, was a perfect character to fit into the 'party' time of the King's reign.

He wrote songs, plays, poems and often got himself into serious bother due to his drinking and 'don't give a s**t attitude' to life.

He formed the 'Merry Gang' who had extravagant dinners and serious amounts of wine and other beverages, which often led to Charles getting himself into trouble more than his other members.

For example . . .

On 16th June 1663, with his cohorts Lord Buckhurst and Sir Thomas Ogle, dined on six dishes of meat served by 6 naked women.

After dinner and many bottles of wine they moved to the balcony. They then proceeded to perform a mock church sermon, the blasphemy shocking people ,but eventually up to nearly a 1000 people were watching.

This all ended with Sedley naked and the men indulging in a mock buggery session and pissing into the wine bottles and throwing it at the crowd, after putting his penis in a glass, stirring it and toasting the king before drinking the wine.

Ogle and Sedley, both members of Parliament, ended the session by declaring "Come now, let us go in and make laws for the nation !! "

Needless to say Sedley was arrested, fined 2000 marks (approx £100,000 today !) and bound over to keep the peace for 3 years.

In October 1668, Sedley and Buckhurst were arrested for running up and down the street, drunk and nearly naked, and beating up a few members of the Watch .

However, he was a favourite of Charles and remained in Parliament throughout his entire reign, though as a dinner guest, if his name was on the list for the evening, other diners would shudder to see which Sedley would turn up - the Parliament version or the Merry Gang version.





Coming in a future issue:

The Strange Death of Edgar Allen Poe

but only if we can find someone to write it. You have your assignment. Make busy!!

Combat Uniforms OF THE Civil War

COMING SOON

if you
supply the
words.
Don't worry
about the
graphics.
We got ém.



Union Infantryman
in marching uniform
1860 - 4



Artillery Officer
1860 - 4



Lieutenant-General
1860-4



Union Infantry Officer
1860 - 4



Union Infantryman
1860 - 4



Major-General
1860 - 4

Modern Forensic science owes a large debt to an elderly, wealthy, Chicago socialite with an inventive mind and an inquiring nature.

Frances Glessner, the daughter of International Harvester magnate John Jacob Glessner married at 19 to Attorney, Blewett Lee. They had three children but their differing natures' led to a divorce. Frances developed an interest in the work of her brother's Harvard classmate, George Burgess Magrath, who later became Professor of Pathology at Harvard Medical School and the Chief Medical Examiner of Suffolk Co. She was convinced that crimes could be solved by analysis of recreated crime scenes and material evidence. She famously built meticulous dioramas of crime scenes using dolls and miniature rooms. In the 1930s and '40s she constructed a series of dioramas, the *Nutshell Studies of Unexplained Death*.

Was a found corpse murdered? a suicide? an accident? By recreating the scene, analysis would show the cause "*in a nutshell*" she used to say.

She advocated a clockwise spiral search pattern to identify evidence.

Twice a year, Lee would hold week-long seminars where participants would scour the scenes for 90 minutes with only the aid of a flashlight and a magnifying glass, trying to deduce the details of the murders through the details of the dioramas.

She is allegedly the inspiration for Jessica Fletcher of "Murder, She Wrote."

She donated the dioramas to Harvard in 1945 for use in seminars. In 1966 when the department of legal medicine was dissolved, the dioramas went to the Maryland Medical Examiner's Office; they are still used for forensic seminars.

In 1931, she endowed a department of legal medicine at Harvard. She also established the George Burgess Magrath Library, a chair in legal medicine, and the Harvard Seminars in Homicide Investigation.

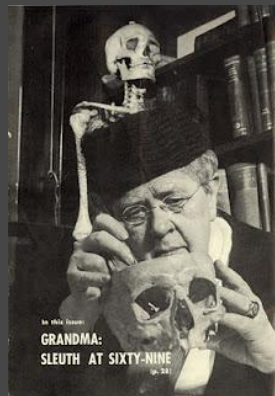
"Murder, She reWrote."

by UncleFred



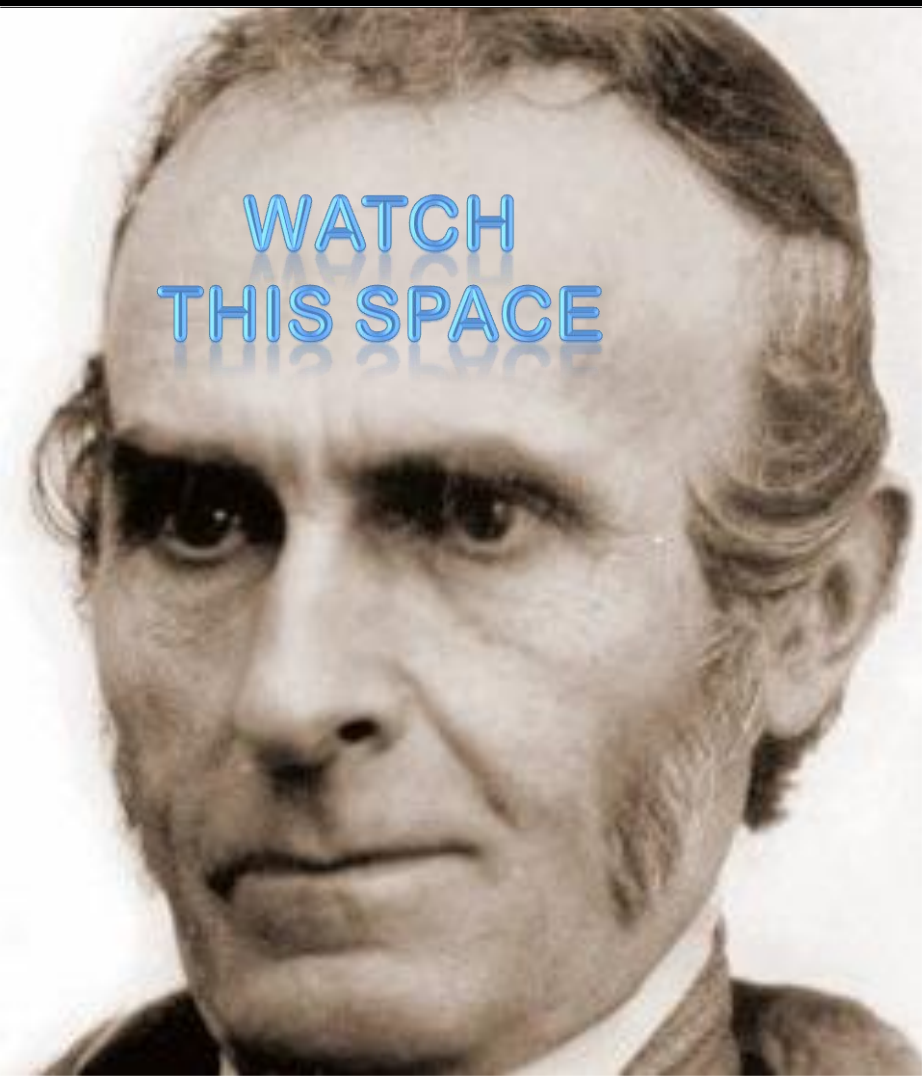


Mayhem in Miniature



HISTORUM the Quarterly

WATCH
THIS SPACE





Chilon of Sparta (Χίλων or Χείλων; 6th century BC)

was a Lacedaemonian and one of the Seven Sages of Greece.

Diogenes Laertius describes him

as a writer of Elegiac poems, and attributes many sayings to him:

"Do not speak evil of the dead."

"Honor old age."

"Prefer punishment to disgraceful gain; for the one is painful but once, but the other for one's whole life."

"Do not laugh at a person in misfortune."

"If one is strong be also merciful, so that one's neighbors may respect one rather than fear one."

"Learn how to regulate one's own house well."

"Do not let one's tongue outrun one's sense."

"Restrain anger."

"Do not dislike divination."

"Do not desire what is impossible."

"Do not make too much haste on one's road."

"Obey the laws."

Sokushinbutsu by Okamido

DO IT YOURSELF MUMMIFICATION

In Japan, the Sokushinbutsu would prepare a regimen over 1000 days. It consisted of eating seeds and nuts and wood bark while they exercised rigorously to remove fat from their bodies. Towards the end, they would start to drink a poisonous solution that was to render the body inedible by maggots. When the time arrived to finish the act, they would sit in a stone tomb only big enough for them to sit in the lotus position. For the

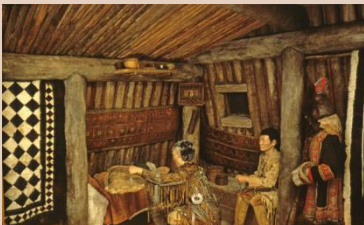
Monks, their only contact with the outside was a small tube to allow in air, and a bell that the monk would ring daily to let others know he was still alive. When the bell was no longer heard, the air tube would be removed and the tomb sealed. The monk would be left for another 1000 days upon which the tomb was opened, and if the mummification was successful, the monk was seen as a Buddha and displayed in the monastery.



The Sakha Shaman by Okamido



The 300 year old mummified remains of a young girl who was a shaman for the Sakha people in the Yakuts region of Siberia. She was found in a very prominent burial mound that none of the local villagers could remember why was so important. It was simply a highly venerated spot for the people, and it took a lot of goodwill to be allowed to excavate. After her examination, it was concluded that she died from tuberculosis, most likely from Russian traders who made their way east.



“The diorama seen here depicts a healing ceremony of the Yakut, of Eastern Siberia. This is not an imaginary re-creation but a faithful record of a ceremony held in the late nineteenth century and described by Museum anthropologist Waldemar Jochelson.



World War I Medics Under Fire

- from the London Times - by Pedro el Colorizer

World War I

Taking cover above low lying clouds

A suggested method of
observing from a car
suspended below
a Zeppelin.

colorized from
the London Times
history of the war

by
PEDRO
EL COLORIZER



For some people a computer is a wonderful and glorious, but expensive, coloring book. But bless them for bringing to life old and faded magazine prints. Such as these two images from the London Times which are contemporaneous with the first world war and were originally black and white.

Makes you want to run out and buy a big computer screen. Doesn't it?

LIVERPOOL AND LONDON AND GLOBE INSURANCE COMPANY.

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Premiums Received 1889, -	6,740,288
Losses Paid 1889, -	8,847,039

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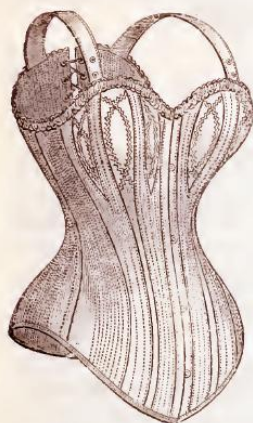
403 PROGRESS BUILDING
SALT LAKE CITY

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ADVERTISEMENTS!
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We're not selling out.
We are allowing
you to buy in.

SUPPORT OUR ADVERTISERS AS THEY SUPPORT YOU



CELEBRATED CORSETS.



THE merit and popularity of these Corsets is attested by the fact that over two million were sold last year in this country alone, and the sales are increasing rapidly year by year.

Ladies are cautioned against the many worthless imitations of Coraline Corsets which are upon the market. These imitations are stiffened with common twine filled with starch, and they lose all their stiffness after a few days' wear.

The genuine Coraline gives better value and better service for the money than any imitation. They can always be recognized, for they have "Dr. Warner's Coraline" printed on the inside of the steel cover.



FOR SALE BY ALL LEADING MERCHANTS.



"I am nothing but a man taken by the people of the country, bitter and oppressed by the robbers to be their organizer in their endeavour of seeking justice."

(Tudor Vladimirescu)

When I was a 9 years old child the history of my people taught in school was a series of stories about great heroes. Some heroes and their stories were really cool (like the ones about Vlad the Impaler aka Dracula), other were plain dull (the ones about the underground Communists especially those happening before WW II).

ROMANIAN HERO

by Sparta

I was interested in history and as far as I remember in those times I was not very fond of Tudor Vladimirescu. He was looking to me like a kind of a communist guy from the 19th century who led a peasant riot and that was it. I knew he was the guy on the 25 lei banknotes and that was it.

My next meeting with Tudor was when I was 15 years old and both the textbook and the teacher were offering more information. This time I was puzzled by the lack of "events" in the uprising. Basically it started on January 1821 and in May 1821 it was over. No battles at all, just an irresistible march towards Bucharest of his troops, and the occupation of the town in March and a two months rule. There were some scant mentions about the fact that he served in the Russian army between 1806 – 1812 war and the fact that the "Eterists" killed him. Who the hell were these people? I wondered myself. If they were Greeks, what were they doing in Romanian lands? If they were fighting the Turks, why did they murder Tudor? I was rather irritated by the fact that many things seemed to be hidden. A decent book on Romanian history seemed not to offer any more data.

I start to understand things only years later when I had time for reading history again.



more →

He was born in Little Wallachia (region better known as Oltenia), around 1780 in a small noble family (barely distinguishable from the landed peasants) and, exceptionally (in those times) for a man not taking a Church career, he had a good education due to the fact that a landowner (boyar) noticed him. The same landowner would secure him the appointment as the head of local militia (*vataf*) in a mountainous district. During these years Tudor understood how to deal with both the boyars (the masters of the Wallachian principality) and with the peasants (the overwhelming majority of the population). He also accumulated considerable wealth. In 1806 at the beginning of the Russian – Turkish War Tudor, together with a large number of local soldiers (pandurs) joined the Russian Army. His service was compensated with the Order of Saint Vladimir 3rd class, the rank of lieutenant and the important status of Russian subject. This status gave him immunity of jurisdiction meaning that he could not be brought before a court in Wallachia or in the Ottoman Empire. In 1812 he returns in his native land and until 1821 is sitting and waiting for his time. The documents show that he wants the creation of a national army. Some sources claim he joined the secret society Philiki Eteria other that he had contacts with it, but there is definitely no document to prove either. What seem to be sure is that he was in close contact with the Romanian aristocracy also discontent with the general state of the country.

The general situation of Wallachia was dire to put it mildly. While autonomous in the Ottoman realm and governed by Christian rulers it was ruled by an oligarchy that ruthlessly exploited the peasants. The Princes, Orthodox Christians from Phanar (the Greek neighbourhood of Constantinople) were just thinking of extracting a maximum from the country before being removed by the Sultan.



Furthermore, the position between Russia, Austria and the Ottoman Empire assured that Wallachia (together with Moldova) would be if not a battlefield than at least collateral damage of these conflicts.

In 1821 the Phanariote lord (*hospodar*) of Wallachia dies. The local aristocracy forms a Governance Committee that assumes the interim leadership of the country; Tudor raises the peasants in his region and on 23 January launches his first Proclamation. Here Tudor speaks of the difficult situation of the country the greed of the leadership (including the Church leadership) and states for the first time in Romanian history the right to rebellion. The quasi biblical language and the force of expression assured him a place in the history of Romanian literature. Some stances of the Proclamation are still known by many Romanians. Tudor proves himself to be a man with political sense, by professing allegiance to the Sultan and by forbidding his followers to rob the private property of the citizens.

Meanwhile he writes a letter to the Sultan entitled “The requests of the Romanian people”. While the language is less poetic than the one of proclamation his content is strikingly modern. He asks for a meritocratic system of appointment of officials (in order to end the sale of the public offices), the creation of a national army paid by the state (as opposed to the system of mercenaries paid by the princes from the money extorted from the taxpayers) the reduction of the number of civil servants. Also, he asks for the reduction of taxes paid to the Church and for the limitation of the Phanariotes in administration and Church.

After establishing a base in his region he marches towards Bucharest. The Committee fears the movement of a largely peasant army well organized and under a competent military leadership. However Tudor continues his march and in the spring he enters Bucharest. In order to avoid battles with the Committee, Tudor negotiates his entry in the capital. He is greeted with enthusiasm and he is addressed as Lord Tudor. Together with the Committee he is governing Wallachia.

Meanwhile, the general situation was becoming more and more complicated. In February an irregular army led by, former general in the Russian army and leader of the secret society **Philiki Eteria**, crosses from Russia to Moldova in order to start a general uprising of the people under the Ottoman domination. Ypsilanti was claiming that he has the support of Russia and he and his band were going to Greece in order to liberate it from the Ottomans. He had the support of the Phanariote lord of Moldova and definitely the deputy of Tudor, Dimitrie Macedonski was a member of the Eteria. The plan of Ypsilanti was to start a general uprising of the Christian populations in the Ottoman Empire that will determine a Russian intervention in their favour.



Passport of the Filiki Eteria, bearing its insignia and written in its coded alphabet.



The Oath of Initiation into the Society, painting by Dionysios Tsokos, 1849.



Fighting in Bucharest (1821).



Ypsilantis in the uniform of a senior officer of the Russian Hussars, 1810s.



Alexandros Ypsilantis crosses the Pruth by Peter von Hess, Benaki Museum, Athens

Ypsilanti marches towards the capital of Moldova, Iasi, he slaughters the Turks living there and continues his march towards Wallachia. This frightens the great boyars who take refuge in Russian and Austrian Empire and is too much for the Ottomans who see now two armies on their sphere of influence. Tudor took great pain to profess his loyalty towards the Sultan but he was still a Russian subject and Ypsilanti a former officer of the Russian army and was talking openly about overthrowing the Ottoman rule and the Russian support.

This was also considered as a challenge to the existing order by the third contender for influence in the area, Austria. In that year the he Laybach (Ljubljana today) Congress of the Holy Alliance was discussing the European situation. In this Congress the Czar Alexander formally condemns the two movements thus the Ottomans could suppress them without any fear of a new war with Russia (March 1821).

The Eterist army was in Wallachia. They could not hope to cross the Danube in the Ottoman Empire proper without Russian support and they could not retreat back to Russia.

With the Eterists now in Wallachia and with the great boyars either running or conspiring against him, Tudor has a hard time. Also, his tough stance on the discipline and the severe punishment of his people who are robbing the inhabitants of Bucharest begin to erode the support within his army. Many of his captains are conspiring with Ypsilanti against him.

When he hears about the Ottoman intervention in Walachia he decides to let Ypsilanti to rule part of the country and he is trying to retreat, with his army in Oltenia, where the local population stood by him, he had a series of strong points for resistance and he could count on the natural defenses of the region. However, Macedonski and the eterists kidnap him for trying to strike a deal with the Ottomans (never proved). He is secretly judged and executed in the end of May 1821. His burial place was never discovered. Allegedly his body was thrown into a fountain, but nothing is sure.

Without him, his army is slowly disintegrating. The Eterist army bravely fought the Ottoman Army in desperate battles in Wallachia (Dragasani) and Moldova, but was lacking any support from the Romanians and by the end of the year it was utterly defeated. Ypsilanti ran to Austria. He was imprisoned for some years until being released and dying in destitution in Vienna in 1828.

The Eterists and Ypsilanti while celebrated as Greek heroes were remembered by the Romanians with hatred and awe because of the senseless killing of Tudor and of the fact that they brought the Ottoman troops for five years on Romanian soil.

As for Tudor he may be considered as the man who brought the Principalities in the era of modernity. The first consequence was the removal of the hated Phanariote regime and the appointment of local lords to rule Walachia and Moldova. His action gave hope to the oppressed people of Wallachia, squeezed between the local aristocracy and the brutal foreign powers and established the idea that the people are entitled to revolt against oppressive rulers.

His tragic death deeply impressed the Romanians beyond Wallachia and in mid 19th century a folk poem "Tudor's Dream" telling about the dream of Tudor being killed was recorded in Moldova. His action was also closely followed by the Romanians in the Austrian monarchy (a Romanian from Austria helped him with building fortifications in Bucharest).

His ideas will be taken over by a new generation of Romanian revolutionaries of similar middle class background in 1848 (one of the leaders of the revolution will be a soldier of his army, captain Magheru).

He started a process of national awakening that may be considered completed after 60 years from his death with the establishment of the Kingdom of Romania.

The only portrait we have was painted in 1873 by Theodor Aman. Aman himself was born in 1831 but the portrait is a reconstitution work being painted based on the testimonies of pandurs.

Unfortunately, after his death, starting with 1870's (when his political program was being fulfilled and most of the contemporaries were passing away) almost every single Romanian party or political regime tried to exploit his figure trying to present him as a forerunner of their own. He even had the dubious distinction of being honoured in the same time (1930's) by both Communist and the extreme right. All these created a kind of Tudor fatigue and after 1990 he is really fondly remembered especially in his own native region.



Marcus Atilius Regulus

by Salah

Roman consul and general,
c. early 3rd Century BC - 225 BC

Marcus Atilius Regulus was born at some point in the first half of the 3rd Century BC, the son of a famous hero of the First Punic War. He was at least the third generation of his family to bear his names. The Atilii were a prominent Roman *gens* in the Republican period; the family had both plebian and patrician branches. The Atilii Reguli were plebians, but had made a name for themselves with victories over Carthaginian and Celtic enemies. They were among the great popular heroes of 3rd Century BC Rome.

Virtually nothing is known of our Regulus' life. He was alive and probably already a young man in 250 BC, when the elder Atilius Regulus was brutally killed by the Carthaginians. There is no record of his marrying or having any issue; if he sired any legitimate sons, they did not live long enough to carry on the family name.

Regulus was elected plebian consul in 225 BC; his colleague was a patrician named Lucius Papus. Regulus and Papus were able to cooperate in putting down a popular rebellion on Sardinia early in the year. Later that year, they confronted the Gauls at Telamon in northern Italy; the Gauls were defeated, but only with great loss of Roman life - including Regulus. Regulus had arrogantly marched his army into battle before Papus and his legion could join with them; he led a brave charge against the Celtic cavalry but was killed. His head was presented to a Celtic chieftain as a trophy, a shameful fate for a Consul of Rome. He was avenged before the day was out; thanks to the reinforcements under Papus, the Gauls at Telamon were annihilated almost to a man. Regulus' head was reunited with his body, which was then cremated. He was the last of the Atilii Reguli.

Regulus is a shady figure in history. From what can be gleaned of accounts of the Battle of Telamon, he appears to have been courageous and ambitious, eager to prove himself as a general. Whether his refusal to await the reinforcements under Papus was simply down out of glory-seeking arrogance, or whether he had a personal feud with Papus is unknown. Either way, it cost this promising Roman politician his life.



Another legend has Regulus, after returning to Rome, killed by being rolled down a hill in a barrel of spikes.



Aspects of Land and Wealth in Sparta

by Okamido

From Plutarch, we are told of the Lykourgan reform concerning the equal redistribution of kleroi (lots of land), between the citizens. The issue is, there is no reference to this before the fifth century and neither Herodotus, in his account of the reforms, or Xenophon, in his *Polity of the Lakedaimonians*, make any reference to it.

We do however, have a brief mention of a land division, by Plato and Isokrates, that took place at the conclusion of the 'Dorian Conquests'. It is the suggestion that Ephorus was the first individual to transfer this incident from the time of the conquests into the classical period, later to be latched onto by Plutarch as a Lykourgan reform, as Ephorus wholeheartedly attributed every known Spartan institution to the lawgiver. It is more than likely that the original distribution was just to give land and booty to the Dorian tribesman, once in the Peloponnese. To address what we think we know of Spartan land division....if we like the argument put forth by Marasco, then the 'division' becomes one of propaganda that was created to justify the revolution of Agis IV and Kleomenes III.

Now according to Plutarch's work on Agis, the elder son inherited all of his father's land. Contradictory, in his work on Lykourgas, Plutarch states that the son is assigned a kleros by the state. These statements are incompatible and cannot be reconciled, unless....

1- If the eldest son inherits his father's land and his younger siblings must be assigned kleros by the state. If this information is correct, then imagine a scenario where a man inherits his father's land, and marries a young woman who has also inherited due to the death of her father in battle/ disease/ old age. The amount of land that is now owned by this particular family could quite possibly be immense, and therefore gives them quite a bit of wealth and power within the state....far more than the original inheritor's male sibling, who may actually have to wait for an assignment of kleros, thus keeping them from exercising their rights as citizens. This scenario, if the divisions are correct and proper as we understand them, could be feasible as there is some slight historic evidence pointing to it.





To this example we can look to the father of Kleomenes I, Anaxandridas II. Anaxandridas II was a king of the Agiad line, and reigned at a time when Sparta was famous for toppling tyrants. His chief problem however, was a barren wife. Because of this, he was asked to set her aside and remarry in order to have issue. It is said however, that he loved his wife (also his niece, and owner of family estates), and would not comply in the repudiation of her. In this instance then, the ephors allowed Anaxandridas the right to take a second wife. From this second wife, was born Kleomenes. After the birth of Kleomenes, Anaxandridas' first wife, whom he 'loved', had issue with Leonidas (making later political machinations in the family much clearer) of Thermopylae fame, and his brother Kleombrotus among others. The truth behind Anaxandridas' refusal to 'divorce' his first wife however was based solely on pragmatic reasons. While he may in fact have loved her deeply, it has come to us that she was a well propertied woman, and Anaxandridas would have lost all of his had he set her aside. This same scenario of acquiring extra property/ wealth from the wife would also come into play with Leonidas when he married Gorgo, his niece by Kleomenes. As the sole child of Kleomenes, she would bring to Leonidas, all of the property of Kleomenes, and presumably Anaxandridas, to the household of Leonidas.

2- Another possibility of being unable to reconcile Plutarch's statements.....he just got it wrong?

Going further into the discussion of partible land, we are usually under the misconception of the eldest son inheriting all of his father's land, set down by Spartan law. This is simply not the case for the entirety of land that any Spartiate may own. As set down by law, all of the land in the Eurotas valley, from the time of Dorian settlement, was equally divided into kleroi for management by the Spartiates. This is the non-partible land that is often mentioned or thought of in the context of Spartan land ownership. These lots were owned by the state, and 'lent' to the citizenry as a form of 'income generator'. Since it was technically owned by the state, it must always be held in its original form, and would be passed down to one son upon a father's death, or barring that a Spartiate had no sons, to his daughter. If the Spartiate had no heirs (children or wife), the land would revert back to state control. What is not being accounted for is the land that was acquired after the conclusion of the Messenian War. This land could be bought and sold, usually through it being 'gifted' for something that is desired, as the outright buying and selling of land with money was looked down upon, despite the fact that some Spartiates, especially the kings, were immensely wealthy. This land from Messenia could be moved over and over again, as inheritance between multiple heirs, gifts, dowries, payment of debts, or to help the perioecic, who were allowed to participate in true commerce, generate actual wealth. From these transactions, a portion of would be paid to the Spartiate owner as a form of tribute. With this land however, some issues can arise, and they generally start with two aspects of the same issue....women.

In Spartan culture, when the daughter was to be wed, a very sizeable dowry needed to be paid. This often times to the form of land, which was in abundance (at one stage). As was stated in the previous post, a Spartiate woman could quickly find herself in control of a great deal of property and wealth from her husband's property, as well as what was given in her initial dowry and any other 'gifts' that could have been received while her husband was still alive. The same could apply to a young woman, whose parents were deceased and had no male siblings. This made the control of these widows/ heiresses (patrouchos) an important issue in Sparta. In the case of the patrouchos, if her father had not left a will stipulating what was to be done with her after his death, or she was not betrothed, then she would come under the purview of one of the kings, as it was their duty to find a proper guardian or husband for her. In this matter, not only could a Spartiate petition the king in order to be her guardian, effectively adopting her and taking control of her property, but ask to outright marry her as well. It wouldn't be too difficult to see how corruption could possibly arise in this type of arrangement, thus possible contributing to wealth and property being held by a few, while a great many unlucky Spartiates may become disenfranchised, and lose their status as homoioi.

For wealth that existed in forms outside of property, it should truly come as no surprise that classes within classes existed. If we can believe Plato's statements in his *Alcibiades 123a*, we can see the mentioning of great wealth...and not just in the forms of land and livestock.



Bronze figurine of a girl running, probably from Sparta. That's how it was labled but do they mean the figurine was obtained in Sparta or do they mean she is running from the city? Maybe she runs from a grammar Nazi. (blame that bad on the editor.)



For in this respect you have only to look at the wealth of the Spartans, and you will perceive that our riches here are far inferior to theirs. Think of all the land that they have both in their own and in the Messenian country: not one of our estates could compete with theirs in extent and excellence, nor again in ownership of slaves, and especially of those of the helot class, nor yet of horses, nor of all the flocks and herds that graze in Messene. However, I pass over all these things: but there is more gold and silver privately held in Lacedaemon than in the whole of Greece; for during many generations treasure has been passing in to them from every part of Greece, and often from the barbarians also, but not passing out to anyone; and just as in the fable of Aesop, where the fox remarked to the lion on the direction of the footmarks, the traces of the money going into Lacedaemon are clear enough, but nowhere are any to be seen of it coming out; so that one can be pretty sure that those people are the richest of the Greeks in gold and silver, and that among themselves the richest is the king; for the largest and most numerous receipts of the kind are those of the kings, and besides there is the levy of the royal tribute in no slight amount, which the Spartans pay to their kings.

As mentioned above, perioecic, and even helots, were allowed to take part in commerce and trade. This could only take place if a form of currency was being used that could be moved from one location to another, including outside of Laconia. No ally or trading partner would accept 'iron' coins as a form of payment of 'interpolis' debts, goods, or services. Therefore, it is not too difficult to accept the existence of free flowing currency within the lands controlled by the Spartans, nor was debt unknown. This debt in Sparta, is noted to us by the fact that on the event of a king of Sparta's death, the new king would grant an amnesty for any individual that owed money to the state. If there was in fact no money, then there would be no debt....and if there was no debt, then there would be no amnesty, but there it is.

From the looks of the matter, it seems that money did in fact exist, and not the mythical iron currency, but in very real, and very valuable forms. The actuality seems to be an attempt to highly lessen the corruptive nature of wealth, and keep all socioeconomics under tight state control.

Hodkinson, S. *Land Tenure and Inheritance in Classical Sparta*

Walbank, F.W. *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*

Barber, G.L. *The Historian Ephorus*

Plutarch. *The Lives*

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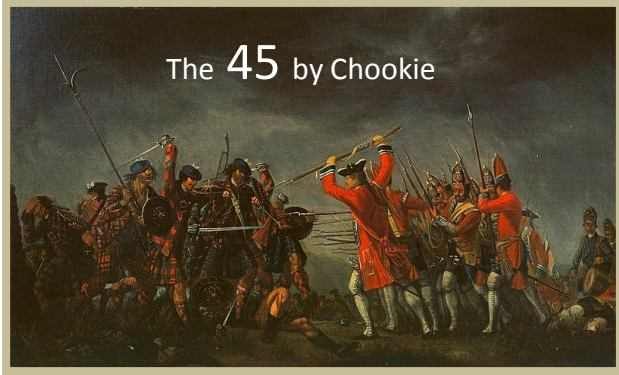


THE 45



chookie dispels some myths

The 45 by Chookie



This is intended to be an introduction to the Jacobite rising of 1745, there are many misconceptions, inaccuracies and damn lies involved in the popular view of the rising. Some of these inaccuracies (this is me being generous) are as follows:-

Assumption 1 – The 1745 Jacobite rising was entirely a conflict between highlanders and lowlanders.

Incorrect. There were highlanders and lowlanders on both sides (along with Irish, English and Welsh) and French on the Jacobite side.

Assumption 2 – The highlanders were a bunch of bare-arsed savages.

Incorrect. The highland army contained doctors, lawyers, poets and philosophers. It contained men who had attended the most famous universities of Europe. Mind you, it also contained shepherds and cowherds, bakers, brewers and farmers.

Assumption 3 – Charles Edward Stuart wished to reclaim the throne of Scotland.

Incorrect. He didn't give a damn about Scotland – he wanted the throne of Scotland, but primarily he wanted the British throne as it had been defined by Jamie Saxt when he took over the English crown he referred to himself as “Jacobus Primus Rex Britanniae, Hiberniae et Franciae” - this seems to have been an obsession in his family.

Assumption 4 – There were more Scots on the Hanoverian side at Culloden.

Incorrect. Three of the government regiments present were of Scottish origin, those were 2/1 (Royal) Regiment – lately the Royals Scots, 21st North British Fusiliers – Royal Scots Fusiliers (until recently) and 25th Sempill's Foot (King's Own Scottish Borderes in more modern parlance). There was also a formation of about 300 Campbells. All told, that means around 1,500 to 1,600 Scots, both highland and lowland on the Hanoverian side....



The Battle of Culloden must be placed in the proper context – this is not a purely Scottish context, nor is it English or even British (remember, Britain is a “new” country at this time). The Rising of 1745 was in actuality part of the larger War of the Austrian Succession.

For the sake of brevity, I won't go any further back than 1688 and the “Glorious Revolution” which was in fact a coup d'etat carried by a bunch of power-crazy aristocrats from the south of England. This decision by those aristocrats to replace the catholic James VII and II with William and Mary, of the house of Orange created problems which still exist today in Ireland (and to a lesser extent in Scotland). However with the installation of the monarch known to the English as William III, we find ourselves in a real quandary, what is his regnal number (not that it matters). In the English system he is William III (after William the Bastard and William Rufus), in the Scottish line, he is William II (after William the Lion), in Ireland, on the other hand, he is William I (after nobody at all). Anyway, that's 1688 out of the way.....

On to 1689, in Scotland there is unrest which culminates in the Battle of Killiecrankie where the Government forces are decisively routed by the Royalist (they aren't Jacobites yet) forces under James Graham of Claverhouse (Bonnie Dundee) who, unfortunately, dies from wounds received in proving himself to his men. Losing Dundee, takes the heart out of the army and most of them bugger off home – there are a few skirmishes here and there but nothing of much import.....

We have reached 1690, a momentous year in Irish history, mainly because of a battle (the Battle of the Boyne) which involved around 60,000 troops, but is mainly remembered as a sectarian battle for some reason which totally escapes me. Particularly as King William and the Pope were on the same side - not that you'd know that from some of the BS which emanates from both sides of the sectarian divide.



We then have a period of relative peace, which unfortunately includes the massacre of Glencoe and the failure of the Darien scheme, during which William the Whatever snuffs it, as does Mrs William. We are then introduced to Queen Anne who presides over the passing of the Act of Union, then dies in 1714 and is succeeded by George I, who is known to Jacobites as “ The Wee, Wee German Lairdie”. This period included the “Invasion “ of 1708 in which James VIII (the Old Pretender) and 6000 French troops were to be landed on the shores of the Firth of Forth. The Royal Navy prevented this, so they went home.

Scottish opposition to both the Act of Union and the imposition of a foreign king resulted in the Rising of 1715 (there were also Jacobite Risings in Cornwall, Wales and Northern England but no-one is supposed to mention that). Anyways, on 6th of September the Earl of Mar (Bobbing John, in Jacobite mythology), in the presence of a number of clan chiefs, proclaimed James VIII as their “lawful sovereign”. He then managed to raise an army of about 8,000 men. This Rising ended with the inconclusive Battle of Sherrifmuir. The aftermath of this battle included the first of the many genocidal Acts passed by the British government which were intended to eradicate the “Highland menace”. Neither the Disarming Act or the Clan Act worked.

In 1719 there was an attempt by Spain, at the behest of Cardinal Guilo Alberoni, to raise the clans. This was accompanied by the dispatch of some 5,000 troops to invade England. Two frigates landed a force of 300 or so Spanish marines on the shores of Loch Duich, they seized and held Eilan Donan castle for a period, but after the Battle of Glen Sheil (known as the Affair in Glen Sheil to those Scots who have actually heard of it), they were forced to surrender to Hanoverian forces.

With me so far?

That was a brief description of the background to the Forty-five.



Our story proper begins on 2nd August 1745 when Prince Charles Edward Louis John Casimir Silvester Severino Maria Stuart (herein after known as Bonnie Prince Charlie / BPC or Kid Shortbread) lands on Eriskay with his allies – all seven of them. He betakes himself to the mainland where he meets with the local chiefs, when he is told by Locheil to “Go home” himself replies “I am home”. He must have been a charismatic little bugger because, despite their misgivings, the chiefs agree to meet at Glenfinnan.....

It's 19th August and we're in Glenfinnan for the raising of the Standard, but even before this on the 16th, the first engagement of the war has taken place. At a location on Wades Road above the River Spean known as High Bridge, MacDonald of Tiendrish, with a dozen men and a piper, captured two companies of the Royal Regiment (about 70 men and 10 officers) with the loss of two dead (both on the government side). BPC and his supporters, yes, all 7 of them, along with some of the local chiefs and their “tails” (retainers) are hanging about twiddling their thumbs. Suddenly they hear a sound which scares the bejeesuz out of the same BPC. After he recovers, it is explained to him (gently) that no one was actually torturing a cat, and what he heard was music, he considers heading back to Daddy (in Rome), for the protection of his only eardrums (if only he had...).

Anyway, the clansmen have started to arrive and the programme can continue. When we come to the Raising of the Standard, the Duke of Atholl, who is also Marquess of Tullibardine is so old and decrepit (from Rheumatism and other associated diseases) that, while he can hold the staff of the Standard, he himself needs assistance from the crowd. Such assistance is forthcoming, the Standard is raised and James VIII and III is proclaimed lawful king. A period of consolidation and resource gathering takes place in which a notable event is the appointment of an ancestor of mine (who is also a notable poet) to tutor Kid Shortbread in the Gaelic (in addition to his duties as an officer in the Clanranald regiment).

The Jacobite army now heads south via Perth where it stops for a week while BPC gathers in more money and supplies – he stayed at an where the Salutation Inn now is (the room in which he slept is now a small meeting room). The Jacobite army reaches the Scottish Capital and parks itself at Duddingston – at the time a small town outside Edinburgh – at this time General Sir John Cope, Commander-in-chief in Scotland(or some such title) has got his act together and gathered an army at Dunbar, he has four regiments of foot and two of dragoons.

On the 20th September, in the vicinity of Prestonpans, the Hanoverian and Jacobite armies can see each other marching and counter-marching in full view. Night falls and the Jacobites cheat (well they must be cheating, after all they're not English, are they?) and make a night march, with the assistance of some locals, around and through the bogs which separate the armies. Come the daylight, the Jacobites are behind the Hanoverians. Being civilised, the Jacobites allow the Hanoverians to reform with the foot in the centre and dragoons on both flanks (I won't mention the artillery, except to say that Cope had six guns, while the Jacobites had none). The Jacobites launch an assault and the Hanoverian gunners think better of it and leave PDQ. The dragoons (apart from Colonel Gardiner and a few others join them).

Ten minutes later it's all over and Sir John Cope is following an ancient English tradition dating back to 1297. (Running off to Berwick after getting his army thrashed). The Hanoverian casualties are said to have been around 300 killed, 400 to 500 wounded and 1,400 to 1,500 captured. Only 170 of the foot got away. Whilst the Jacobites probably lost less than 30 killed and 70 wounded .

The original Edinburgh Festival? After knocking seven bells out of Copes' army, Bonnie Prince Charlie proceeds to waste five weeks partying at his base in the Palace of Holyrood House. At this time most of his advisers are telling him to consolidate his hold on Scotland. Did he take their advice? Did he Hell. Kid Shortbreid has gotten his way and the Jacobites are going to visit England. The Jacobite army at this time numbers somewhere around 6,000, much later a Baroness Nairne wrote:-

"Twa thoosan swam owre tae fell English ground
and danced themselfs dry tae the pibroch sound"
Nice, powerful imagery, but totally inaccurate, because :

- A)** there were around 4,500 to 5,000 in the Jacobite army,
- B)** it's damn near impossible to dance to a pibroch and
- C)** it didn't bloody happen.





The Jacobite army sets out from Edinburgh at the end of October, leaving behind a distraught female populace – Kid Shortbried being the 18th century equivalent of Michael Jackson (or maybe Eminem) – they are basically just out for a leisurely walk in the countryside. It's tempting to think that they got lost, but by the 10th of November they fall over Carlisle. The Hanoverians have been “fortifying” Carlisle castle (not the present version - that dates from not long after the '45). The following citation is from the journal of Lt-Colonel Durand of the 1st Footguards (who was personally and in total the full amount of reinforcement made available to the garrison of the castle):-

“....which I found in a very weak and defenceless condition; having no ditch, no out-works of any kind, no cover'd way, - the walls very thin in most places, and without proper flanks; but agreed with Captain Gilpin...not to mention our opinion of the weakness of the place for fear of discouraging the Militia....”

This pythonesque (Monty of that ilk) half-arsed nonsense (a reinforcement of one person?) does absolutely nothing for the reputation of what is now the “British” army – even though I will still use the term Hanoverian – as the castle was forced to surrender on the 15th. Durand was later court-martialled for surrendering his command – which might have been justified had he been given the resources he needed.

At the same time on the eastern side of the country, Wade is gathering his troops at Newcastle, not entirely to his satisfaction. On the 16th, he orders his army to march out but the regiment ordered to take the van (take point in modern parlance), a Swiss formation (Hirzler) in Hanoverian service refuses to leave its barracks until 10 o'clock, when it does it meets problems – the roads are a jumble of frost-hardened ruts and the fields are under feet of snow. Consequently they only manage to reach Ovingham before being forced to bivouac for the night.....

A day later they have reached Hexham after a helluva trauchle, but while here word reaches them that Carlisle has fallen, apart from that, his forces are in very bad way, here's a quotation from one of his officers:- *“miserable roads, terrible frost and snow. We did not get to our grounds till near 8 and as my quarters were five miles off I did not get there till 11, almost starved to death with cold and hunger, but revived by a pipe and a little good wine. Next morning we found some of the poor fellows frozen to death for they could get to nothing to eat after marching 13 hours. The next day we marched to this place [Hexham]. Roads and weather the same. Got to camp about eight. Nothing for the men...”*



Wades' officers hold a council of war on 19th November, heated words are exchanged (OK, possibly), but a unanimous decision is made to retire to Newcastle. This, in effect, as Ligonier (another Hanoverian general) and his forces are no further north than Lichfield, means that England is wide open. The Jacobites, however have troubles of their own. At a council of war held on the 18th (thus predating the Hanoverian one) BPC orders that they accept his strategy of "Going straight to London" none of his advisers agree with this scenario but himself talks them into it, claiming that French and English support will be forthcoming. Believing this for some idiot reason, the chiefs agree to his "strategy".

So on we go heading south. On the 21st of November Carlisle is left behind (with a garrison of 300), Lord George Murray marched on the 20th with the Atholl Brigade and the regiments of Glenbucket, the Duke of Perth and John Roy Stewart. {**side note:** ignore all the various spellings of Stuart. However any particular individual spells the name, whether Stewart (interchangeable with Stuart), Steuiart (very precocious, but who cares, I'm not one of them), Stuart (interchangeable with Stewart, but more acceptable to the French – because no "W") or Stuibhart (the Gaelic version)).

Anyways, the Jacobite army is heading Londonwards at a fair rate of knots considering the weather, they stop at Kendall for a while (22nd to 25th) to catch their breath, four days later (29th November) Manchester is captured by a sergeant (John Dickson of Perths regiment), a drummer and the sergeants girl-friend.

A regiment is raised from the local Jacobites. This regiment is known (surprise) as the Manchester Regiment. A local who has served in the French army, a Francis Townely, is commissioned to be colonel in this regiment, which has a muster roll of approximately 200.

Continuing south, the Jacobites enter Derby on 4th December. The Hanoverian army is running around like a headless chicken. Troops are ordered to Chester, to North Wales (deemed to be a Jacobite objective), and to Lichfield. Lord Kilmarnock's Horse are sent out on a reconnaissance, during which they encounter some Hanoverian dragoons at the Red Lion in Talke. Once again, the dragoons bugger off sharpish, but: they leave behind the reason for their being there – they're the escort for an intelligence officer, a Captain Weir. When questioned Weir tells all and hands over a copy of a newspaper report.....



This report lists the Hanoverian troop movements and numbers. The newspaper lists forces comprising almost 14,000. Weir estimates their numbers as being closer to 10,500, nevertheless this news causes consternation among the Jacobite High Command. The Prince is told "The gemyes a bogey".

Lord George Murray telling him *"Suppose even the Army march'd on and beat the Duke of Cumberland yett in the Battle they must Lose some men, and they had after that the King's own army consisting of near 7,000 men near London to deal with.....that certainly 4,500 Scots had never thought of putting a King upon the English Throne by themselves...."*

Upon hearing this, Kid Shortbreid throws a wobbly and goes into a sulk mode....when he recovers he calls a general council at which he insults them all generally and severally to no avail. The 5th December is spent in resting up, but it allows Cumberland to steal a march on them.

Derby is left behind on 6th December and the withdrawal to Scotland commences. While the Jacobites covered something like 30 miles a day on the march south, but even in retreat, they are covering about 20 miles a day. On the 20th, BPC's birthday the army crosses back into Scotland. This is when the scene alluded to by Baroness Nairne occurs. The River Esk is in spate and in order to cross it the army has to form ranks of 10 or 12 and link arms before attempting to cross. Some how they manage this with the loss of only two camp-followers. Back in Scotland after fording the River Esk the army does indeed "dance itself dry to the pibroch sound", but this is on the way home.

Dumfries being on the route north, the army stops off in passing for a bit of light looting and extortion (mainly of shoes). Arriving in (and occupying) Glasgow on 25th the army tells the citizenry that they require 6000 pairs of shoes, along with "the like number of" tartan hose, bonnets, short coats, 12,000 linen shirts and £5,000.00 (and free lodging for the duration). On hearing this, the burgesses of Glasgow reply to this in the traditional Glasgow manner, which is (politely) rendered as "Bugger Off". This is not to say that Glasgow is a hotbed of Hanoverianism – it isn't but it's not a hotbed of Jacobitism either. The burgesses and merchants of Glasgow are more interested in making money from the tobacco and slave trades than in making or unmaking Kings.

Moving on to January 1746, after the excesses of the New Year festivities (this is Scotland, Christmas is not for enjoying, but Houghmagandie on the other hand.....) a largish chunk of the army is investing (I could have said besieging, but investing sounds better) Stirling Castle. This is a pointless exercise as Stirling Castle is one of the two most formidable fortifications in Scotland and they have no siege artillery of any kind. Thusly, over time, it dawns on the Jacobites that, in the matter of Stirling Castle, the result is Hanoverians 1, Jacobites 0.

Later on in January, we are arriving in Falkirk in fine time to be having a disputation with General Henry “Hangman” Hawley – the latest Hanoverian commander to face the Jacobite challenge. On the 17th there is yet another Battle of Falkirk (this is getting to be familiar). Hawley launches three battalions of his dragoons at the Jacobite infantry and they assault the MacDonald regiments brigaded on the right of the Jacobite line. The cavalry break off sharply after being in receipt of one volley from this regiment which has enough guns for another volley or two and a selection of long, sharp poiny things.

The MacDonald regiments, having had some exercise, and being bored stiff with hanging about, take off after the dragoons. The dragoons, being mounted, get away. The infantry however are faced with a bunch of hairy heilanders waving three-foot long gullies. So the infantry advances to the rear quickly, but the MacDonalds have got in among them. The five regiments of foot on the Hanoverian left lose 20 officers. The battle however is pretty much a draw but Hawley leaves the field so the Jacobites have slightly better grounds to claim the victory.

It was pretty inconclusive and casualties on both sides are light, the Jacobites admitting to 50 dead and about 80 wounded. Hawley admits to a total of 67 dead and 280 missing (gone home?).

The Rout of Moy is yet another of those skirmishes at which the Jacobites are so proficient. On 16th February, Kid Shortbreid and his closest advisors are dining at Moy Hall with “Colonel Anne” (Lady Anne Mackintosh AKA Anne Farquharson). They are informed that Lord Loudon (Colonel John Campbell, Earl of Loudon) is headed their way with 1,200 men. Panic ensues. Running in circles etc. Eventually all present calm down. Loudon had sent an advance guard of 30 men to hold the gates of Moy Hall, but before getting there they encounter the local blacksmith and four of his friends – shots are exchanged and the advance guard go to ground. There is only one casualty (Hanoverian again), a piper known as Patrick Og McCrimmon.

The main body of the troops, still around a mile away, hear the shots and the last five companies in the column turn tail and run. A couple of hundred of them just keep on running. Loudon and the rest hang about where they are for an hour or so, then head back to Inverness. Loudon however, doesn't stop there – he keeps going until he reaches the Black Isle. Inverness castle (not the present one- that's a Victorian monstrosity) surrenders shortly afterward.

Nothing of much account happens over the next six to eight weeks. Jacobite numbers fluctuate even more than usual – the Jacobite army commanders never had all that much control over troop dispositions anyway and this problem has just got worse – after all what self-respecting farmer is going to ignore the planting season? There are also detachments of Jacobites all over the place.

The Hanoverians have different problems. The soldiers can walk (or ride if they are cavalry) but they have to get their supplies and equipment over extremely rough terrain which is not over-supplied with roads. However, the Hanoverians eventually reach Nairn, where they rest and recuperate.

The day before the battle the Jacobite army (or what's left of it) makes a night march to Nairn in the hope of catching Cumberlands army in the act of getting pissed - it is after all, Cumberlands' birthday – unfortunately, for a variety of reasons they are unable to do so. Those at the front of the army get into ear-shot of the Hanoverians but the sentries are alert and there are very few Jacobites available for an attack, so they retire....

The battle of Culloden is fought over terrain which is totally unsuitable for the “highland charge”, the Jacobites are exhausted, hungry – many of them have not eaten for three days - and cold. They are also outnumbered and outgunned. The majority of the troops who took part in the night march are still on their way back (or dead from exposure or hunger) or completely exhausted numbers of the Jacobite army (which has always been troubled by personnel wandering off home when they are bored, have collected enough loot or need to get the harvest in) is reinforced by the local Neds and some recent recruits, none of whom have been supplied with arms.

Through the intransigence, or possibly, idiocy of Kid Shortbreid, the Jacobite army is forced to face what is reputed to be the best army in Europe (don't mention Fontenoy). Neither the terrain or the weather are advantageous to the Jacobites, the Hanoverians have more materiel, more (and better served) guns. Even more importantly, they are well fed, albeit a bit hungover, and much better equipped than the Jacobites. Culloden Moor is a on top of a rise which lies between the village of Culloden and the River Nairn. It's a bleak, windswept place.

After all the campaigning, battles, deaths and other general bad stuff associated with opposing armies, we are about to just find out exactly how bad bad stuff can be.....

The Jacobite army forms up in two lines, with the Athollmen on the right wing and a bunch of pissed-off MacDonald regiments on the left wing – they're pissed-off because they think they've been insulted. Anyways, from the right (southern) wing we have the Athollmen, Lochiel and his Camerons, Ardsheil (Stewarts), Frasers, MacIntosh, Monaltrie, MacLeans and MacLachlans, Chisholms and the three MacDonald regiments. These probably number in the region of 3,900 men. The second line is much more sparse, it consists of a scatter of units intended to act as a tactical reserve. There are about 2,000 in this line and there are maybe a couple of hundred cavalry. In addition they have a number of 3-pounder guns, but they have limited powder and shot.

The Hanoverians form up in three ranks, both the first and second rank containing six regiments of foot and the third three regiments of foot and two of dragoons. There is also a detached force of one regiment of foot and two of dragoons. A battalion of Campbell militia is also present. This gives the Hanoverians something in the region of 7,500 men (at a conservative estimate). There are also 10 guns (3-pounders), ample powder and shot and six Coehorn mortars.

The battle takes place in typical Scottish spring weather (rain, hail and biting winds). Hostilities are commenced by Kerr's 11th Dragoons and four troops of Cobham's 10th Dragoons who, along with four companies of Campbell militia are stationed to the south-west of Leanach. There is considerable disagreement about who fires the first shot in the main battle, but most are certain the rebels fire first. This can cause a bit of confusion as the Jacobites consider the Hanoverians to rebels (and vice versa). Just to be controversial (or not), let's say the Jacobites started it.

Most reports claim that the Jacobite artillery, such as it is, was largely ineffective yet most of the casualties on the Hanoverian right wing are the result of Jacobite artillery. The fact that these casualties are in regiments (Howard's 3rd and Fleming's 36th, in the second line and Battereau's 62nd in the third line) indicates that at least some Jacobites were passable gunners.

At around one o'clock the action begins. According to some reports the cannonade lasts 10-15 minutes, but others say it lasts around 30 minutes (which I would think unlikely, after all, would you just stand there for half an hour and let somebody use you for target practice?).



The Prince's Beach
Bonnie Prince Charlie landed here from
the Du Teillay on 23rd July 1745.

Eventually the Jacobite High Command gives the order to advance. The whole first line of the Jacobite army advances, but due to the way the opposing armies had formed up, the left wing had much further to go. Culloden Moor is totally unsuitable for the delivery of the Jacobites most fearsome weapon – the Highland Charge (basically, a downhill charge at speed in the course of which they would provoke the opposition into firing. When the opposition “presented” their firearms, the Highlanders ducked into the heather, waited for the volley, got up, charged forward, delivered their own volley, ditched the guns and went in with the sharp pointy things).

The terrain doesn't help the advance either. According to Captain James Johnstone of the Duke of Perth's Regiment who recorded that not only was the ground marshy, but “*covered with water which reached halfway up the leg*” due to the state of the ground, the MacDonalds can't advance with any speed, but advance they do. They get to something like 20 metres from the Hanoverian line and stall there. So they're standing shaking their fists and shouting curses at the Hanoverians (because they don't have any ammunition left). At this time they suffer their highest ranking casualty, Colonel Alexander MacDonnell of Keppoch who is killed while at the front of his regiment.

This marks the closest point the left wing gets to the Hanoverians. The front line regiments facing the MacDonalds suffer very few casualties as, by the time the Jacobites get near the Hanoverians their powder is wet, they are wet and not very happy about anything. However, when they retire, they retire as a unit. Indeed, when the fight was over, they marched off in good order with pipes playing and colours flying (or so I'm told). This may or may not be true, but it does make sense as cavalry prefer to attack single fugitives.

Most of the Hanoverian casualties are incurred by the left wing, largely because the Jacobite regiments in the centre are forced to move to the right as they advance, due both to the terrain and the fire of the regiments of Campbell and Price. This means that the Jacobite assault falls mainly on the extreme left of the Hanoverian army, Monro's and Barrell's who suffer the highest casualty count of the Battle – which isn't much. The Hanoverians suffer 50 dead and something under 300 wounded against some 700 to 1,500 dead and unnumbered wounded (many of whom will die either due the severity of the wounds or the actions of the Hanoverian army).

The unfortunate Lord George Murray, the Prince's most able general whose advice the Prince foolishly/arrogantly ignored, hastening the tragic outcome of the Battle of Culloden, the death of the Jacobite dream and the end of the centuries-old Scottish way of life.



While the Jacobite left is halted in front of the Hanoverian line, the right has broken the first line on the Hanoverian left, but it's caught the crossfire from the rest of the Hanoverian front line and Ballimore's Argyll Militia. Even so, the Jacobites have broken through the first line of the Hanoverian forces. The second line has broken the back of the advance and they are falling back.

Lord George Murray is desperately trying to stabilise the situation. Later he writes: *"our men broke in upon some regiments on the enemy's left; but others came quickly up to their relief. Upon a fire from these last, and some cannon charged with cartouch shot, that they had, I think, at their second line, (for we had passed two that were on their front) my horse plunged and reared so much, that I thought he was wounded; so quitted my stirrups, and was thrown."*

With the retreat of the Jacobite right wing. The battle is, basically, over. The retreat of the right wing causes an extremely quick collapse of the resolve of the High Command. Colonel John Sullivan tells the commander of BPC's escort *"yu see all is going to pot. Yu can be of no great succor, so before a general deroute wch will soon be, Sieze upon the Prince & take him off."* (I quite like this freestyle spelling. The spell-checker isn't happy though...)

So, apart from the MacDonalds and the French formations, this time it's the Jacobites doing the headless chicken routine. This is when the "British" army "stains it's honour" - or is it? The various war crimes (Yes, I know. "War Crime" is a modern invention.) are ordered by the Hanoverian Generals. Major-General Humphrey Bland of the 3rd Dragoons reports that he *"gave Quarter to None but about Fifty French Officers and Soldiers He picked up in his Pusuit..."*. James Wolfe, (Yes, that Wolfe), when speaking to another officer, comes out with this bullshit *"The rebels, besides their natural inclinations, had orders not to give quarter to our men. We had an opportunity of avenging ourselves for that and many other things, and indeed we did not neglect it, as few Highlanders were made prisoners as possible."*



The Duke of Cumberland known as "Butcher Cumberland" He was George II's 26 year old third son.



(There is a story in which Wolfe refuses to “execute” a wounded highlander (Cameron of Inverallochy), however it doesn't quite accord with his expressed sentiment)

The massacre of the wounded after the battle is normally referred to as a stain on the honour of the British Army. I disagree, to me it was a stain on the honour of the commanders of that army. These atrocities were carried out in the heat of battle (mostly), they are blamed on the soldiers, but those soldiers were obeying orders. Orders given by William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland. They earn him the well-deserved nicknames of “Butcher” Cumberland and “Stinking Billy” from the Jacobites and the not so well-deserved “Sweet William” from the Hanoverians.

What was inflicted on the people of the Highlands in especial tarnished forever the reputation of what can now be termed the British Army. I've seen what occurred after the battle described as a “counter insurgency campaign”. To me this is nonsense. It was attempted genocide.

Lowland Scots are some of the most enthusiastic ethnic-cleansers of the Hanoverian commanders— Captain John Fergusson of the sloop HMS Furnace, and Captain Caroline (Yes, Caroline – our very own “Boy named Sue”) Frederick Scott of the 6th Foot (1st Warkwickshire Regiment – which was not present at Culloden) are arguably even more vicious than Stinking Billy himself. In early June 1746, Scott receives an order from Cumberland to the effect that he should “*not burn any more houses that day...*”. Scott on receiving this order, says “*It is no matter, Let them proceed in the burning. They are not in the knowledge of the orders.*” On the same day, another of his patrols meets with three men near Glen Nevis. These men are on their way to Fort William to surrender their weapons. The redcoats hang them then and there, thereby showing their commander in his best light.



What is even more disgusting about the actions of the Hanoverians after the failure of the Rising is that the Acts of Proscription and Disarming are applied to the population of the highlands as a whole, Jacobite, Hanoverian and Neutral. Another thing is the over-reaction – banning garments, banning patterns and banning music?

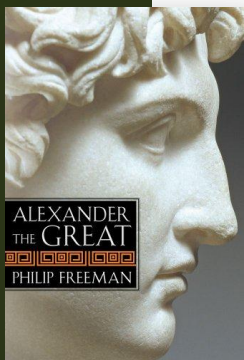
“Banning music? You ask.” Yes, they also banned the playing of the bagpipe. Does that count?

Just to be giving you a flavour of it, heres an extract from the Act of Proscription:-
Quote:

“That from and after the first day of August, One thousand, seven hundred and forty-six, no man or boy within that part of Britain called Scotland, other than such as shall be employed as Officers and Soldiers in His Majesty's Forces, shall, on any pretext whatever, wear or put on the clothes commonly called Highland clothes (that is to say) the Plaid, Philabeg, or little Kilt, Trowse, Shoulder-belts, or any part whatever of what peculiarly belongs to the Highland Garb; and that no tartan or party-coloured plaid of stuff shall be used for Great Coats or upper coats, and if any such person shall presume after the said first day of August, to wear or put on the aforesaid garment or any part of them, every such person so offending.... For the first offence, shall be liable to be imprisoned for 6 months, and on the second offence, to be transported to any of His Majesty's plantations beyond the seas, there to remain for the space of seven years.”

Drag Queen? This involves (yet again) Kid Shortbread, women and transvestism. On the 20th April, four days after he destroys the clan system. {side note: The clan system was, by this time, sorely in need of reform. It could have been achieved in many other ways, but then, that's history} Make no mistake, although his cousin, the Duke of Cumberland contributed greatly to this effort, Kid Shortbreid did the initial damage. Anyway, BPC arrives in Arisaig where he is supplied with new clothes. As it appears in the records, he got “ *A sute of new Highland cloaths from Angus MacDonald of Boradale's spouse, the better to disguise him and to make him pass for one of the country.*” After which himself is shipped off to South Uist for a bit, where he finds himself a new hobby (he becomes a world (or maybe galaxy)-class piss artist. (For the benefit of those who are not Scottish, Irish or even (gulp) English, this indicates a professional drinker).

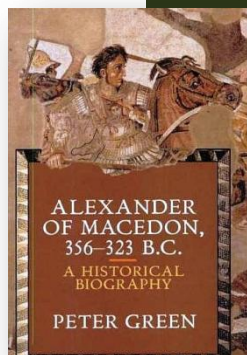
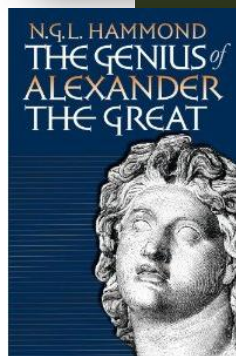
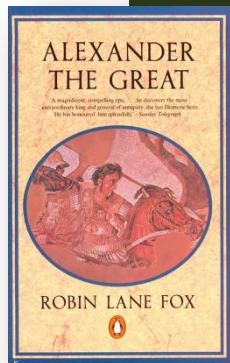
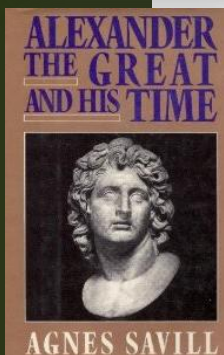
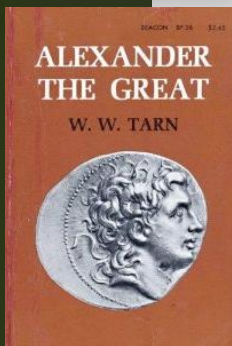
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member
PRR
reviews
six works on



Alexander of Macedon



Here is a brief review of a few biographies of Alexander the Great. I'm working on a short reading list for a freshman world civ class and decided to include a recommended work on Alexander. In case you're the kind of person who likes to peek at the answers at the back of the math book, my choice is Robin Lane Fox's book. This short review might be helpful for folks trying to decide which book on Alexander to buy and read.

I did a short review of three of the more significant aspects of Alexander's life: the organization of the Macedonian army (by his father, Philip), the battle at Gaugamela, and Alexander's plans to create a Persian army.

I have examined the following books:

Fox, Robin Lane. *Alexander the Great*.

Freeman, Philip. *Alexander the Great*.

Green, Peter. *Alexander of Macedon, 356-323 BC: A Historical Biography*.

Hammond, N. G. L. *The Genius of Alexander the Great*.

Savill, Agnes. *Alexander the Great and his Time*. Dorsett Press, 1990.

Tarn, W. W. *Alexander the Great*. 1948 edition.



One caveat to keep in mind about Tarn's short book (148 pages): it is only the first volume of a two-volume set. The second volume has a rather lengthy section on the Macedonian army, but since it has long been out of print, and used copies are upwards of 30 USD, it is unrealistic to expect people who are new to this area, to get their hands on this second volume. For that reason, as unfair as it might seem, I will limit my analysis to Tarn's short first volume.



Also, I realize that Hammond wrote another work on Alexander, *Alexander the Great: King, Commander and Statesman*. Just as with Tarn, let me state that this briefest of reviews is unfair, because Hammond's KC&S is 352 pages, instead of the 202 pages that his *Genius* is. Having said that, I could only access *Genius* at my local library and so this will have to do.

Savill's book was picked for no other reason than that it was there (in my college library).

Finally, I'd at least like to admit that I had hoped to get Paul Cartledge's *Alexander the Great* as well, but it was unavailable. Freeman's book was only accessible via Google Books, which (as you can imagine) cut off a few pages that I really wanted to read.

If anyone has access to those two books (Hammond's *Genius* or Cartledge's *Alexander*) and would like to scan the appropriate pages (giving their thoughts on the Macedonian army, the battle of Gaugamela, and Alexander's plans to enlist Persians in his army and the furor this caused at Opis), **and email them to me**, I'd love to read them and then update this review.

more



Macedonian Army: Armor and Tactics



Tarn had a short section on Macedonian armor and tactics (10-11). He mentioned that the thrusting-spears of the Macedonian phalanx (*sarissai*) were 13-14 feet long, but other than that, gave numerical strengths for the various sections.

Green (17-19) mentioned the heavy cavalry, distinguishing it from the medieval knights with the lack of saddles and stirrups; he stated that the horses themselves were rather like large ponies. They wore helmets and breastplates, and fought with a six-foot-long stabbing spear. He stated that the Macedonian phalanx was heavily drilled, and wielded 13-14 foot long spears, which would be able to penetrate an enemy formation before it could be penetrated itself by enemy weapons. Page 20 gave a few more details of the extensive training.

Fox had much more detail about Phillip's reforms than Green did. He went into great detail about the cavalry and heavy infantry of the Macedonians. They would hold their spears with two hands, and have a breastplate and helmet, but no shield. Their wedge formation was used to puncture a line from the side (as opposed to a direct frontal assault). Alexander's wounds from cavalry charges came from swords and daggers, not spears, indicating that the spear would provide only punctuation to the initial shock of the cavalry charge; most of the battling would be with swords or scimitars after the formation being attacked, had broken and run away.

The *sarissa* was up to 18 feet long; iron was on the tip, as well as on the butt, which allowed it to be planted into the ground. It was made by combining branches of the cornel tree around an inner tube of bronze. Fox (as well as Green, but with less detail than Fox) noted the reliance upon slavery: the traditional Greek phalanx was a citizen army, but the Macedonian army was a permanent, standing army that could be moved or drilled throughout the year.

Hammond (13) had half a paragraph on the arms of the Macedonian cavalry and infantry.

Savill (14-15) has very little detail, and nothing not mentioned in the other writers.

Freeman had more detail than Savill, but again, nothing that wasn't covered in Fox or Green.

Plans for a Persian Army



Green simply mentioned Alexander using Persian men in his army, and a few specific roles for them, as well as his plans to retain the children from the marriages of his soldiers with Asian women, and to train those children militarily (453-57). Green saw the prayer at Opis, to be nothing more than a prayer for the Persians and Macedonians to get along, indicating that the Persians were placed below the ranks of the Macedonians, and other Asians, below those of Persia (Green here was closely following Arrian 7.8-12; Penguin 359-66).

Tarn of course saw this as an expression of Alexander's belief that all men are one, under one heavenly Father, but didn't mention the specific details (116-17).

Fox (424-29) saw this as more a matter of political and military strategy, than anything else. He provided more detail on this than Green or Tarn did. He opined that his troops had dared him to do what they didn't think he'd do (disband them), and after retreating to his tent, he responded by telling them that he was now appointing Persian officers to lead his army.

Hammond (188-90) saw this as a logical result of Alexander's problem: the number of Macedonian troops was dwindling; therefore he needed Persian men for his army. Hammond indicated that this was the special significance of the *Epigoni* (Successors)—this was to be his new army, to replace his Macedonian one. However, Hammond had very little on the prayer at Opis.

Savill (132-37) mentions this without much comment or detail.

Part of Freeman's discussion of the mutiny at Opis was cut off by Google Books, but what he did mention looked pretty good. Unfortunately, he seems to have skipped over the banquet after the mutiny, and Alexander's prayer as well.



Battle of Gaugamela



Hammond (105-10) offered a detailed and thorough explanation of the strategies and preparations of both leaders, of their respective forces, as well as the events in the battle.

Tarn's description (46-51) was good, although not as informative as Hammond. Tarn seemed to spend precious time on providing exact names of commanders and the various units in the Persian army.

Fox (228-30) argued that Darius was foolish in not contesting the crossing of the Tigris, and gave a historical example of how effective a small cavalry unit could do this (when the Roman emperor Julian invaded the Parthian empire in the 300s); having said that, Fox then stated that perhaps Darius was hoping for a battle (in which Alexander would be crushed), as opposed to simply keeping him and his army west of the Tigris.

Fox indicated how the battle site suited Darius' force (an open plain, allowing no natural barriers to protect Alexander's flank). Fox indicated that not only did Alexander's cavalry lack the numbers of the Persians, but they also lost the impact of weapons, as many of Darius' cavalry would have been well armed. Fox' account of the battle even more detailed than Hammond's.

Green didn't mention the wisdom of allowing Alexander to cross the Tigris unopposed (286-87), but did mention Darius' attempt at buying off Alexander before battle, which none of the other authors did. Green also indicated the precariousness of Alexander's position—with no cavalry to spare, he had to wait for Darius to make the first move, and then, to charge into the gap before it was sealed off. He also credited Darius ("who by now had learnt the secret of his opponent's 'oblique' advance") with trying to delay attacking as long as possible, lest he create a gap and allow Alexander room for a charge.

Quite frankly, after reading Savill and Freeman on the first two subjects, I just didn't see any reason to read either of them on this battle, expecting nothing that wasn't in the other writers.



Overall Reflections

Fox has emerged (at least out of this shrunken group of books) by far as the most detailed and best. Originally published in 1973, it was re-issued in 1994 with updates, although the table of contents from the 2004 edition has each section (Parts One through Four, an Index, Bibliography, Notes, and Addenda) all starting on the same page numbers as their 1973 counterparts, which tells me not a whole heck of a lot of updating has taken place. And so if I had the 1973 book I surely wouldn't spend any money on the newer edition, but the 2004 paperbacks on Amazon are going for 4 USD (including shipping) so I'll get the newer edition.

However, Green has merited a definite honorable mention. I was rather skeptical of him—I read a few reviews that led me to see his work as a politically-correct smear on Alexander (as just one more debauched European breaking up a native Garden of Eden, where of course everybody was good). I will have to read much more of his book to see if this is an accurate representation of Green's writing, but what I have checked shows that he knows his ancient sources, and put a lot of thought into this book, making it well worthy my time to read (if I can find the time!), even if he does fall into the hypocrisy of that PC viewpoint.

book review by leakbrewergator

大谷 貞夫 著
江戸幕府治水政策史の研究

The Bakufu In Japanese History

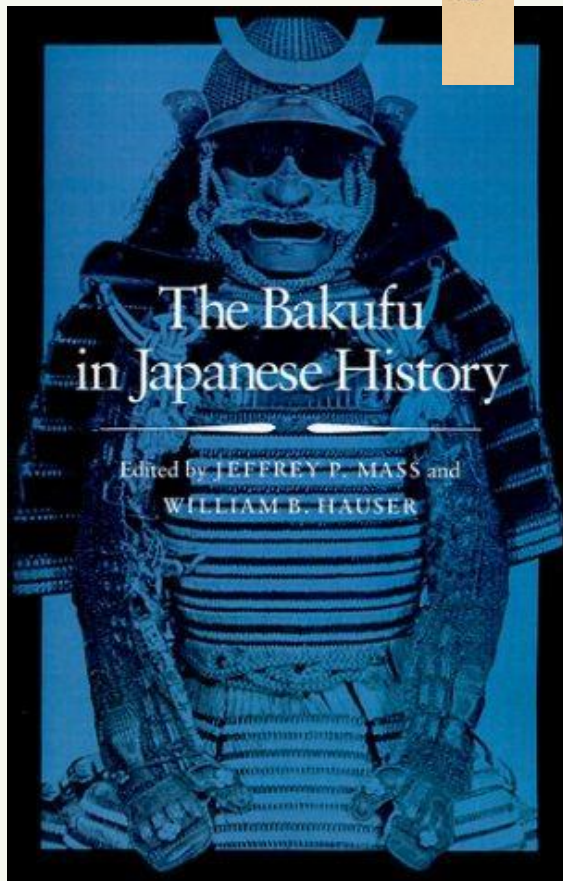
is an anthology of essays about, well, the Bakufu in Japanese History. (Who woulda thunk it?)

The book is edited by Jeffrey P. Mass and Willaim B. Hauser, and it includes an intro from Marius Jansen among the other contributors that will be mentioned below.

Before I begin reviewing the essays, my thoughts on the book as a whole:

Very informative. There were a lot of new terms and ideas that I had not been aware of prior to reading this work. The essays on the Kamakura and Muromachi Bakufu were all extremely informative and fun to read. However, the essays on the Tokugawa Bakufu, while informative, were snooze fests.

Now for the individual essays!



**Four Japanese
members of bakufu
about 1886**



What can we not know about the Kamakura Bakufu by Jeffrey P. Mass

Mass' essay deals with the issues facing individuals in researching the Kamakura Bakufu. Most importantly the dearth of source materials. Which is understandable given the time frame.

As was mentioned in the discussion group linked at the bottom of this magnificently written blog post, the term "bakufu" was something that was not applied to these forms of government until the Tokugawa Period. During the actual time of the Kamakura Bakufu, the government was known as Kanto, after the area in which it resided.

Mass does a decent job of briefly breaking down both the Gempei and Jokyu Wars. In dealing with the former, Mass argues against the highly romanticized account of the war as an heroic struggle fought between two powerful families that fielded large armies.

His dealing with the Jokyu War is a bit more conventional. It basically reads as a narrative of the known events. It's main purpose in this essay is to show the first true altercation between the court and the bakufu.

The Kamakura Bakufu and It's Officials by Andrew Goble

Goble focuses on the administrative aspect of the Kamakura Bakufu as opposed to the strictly military aspect. Goble starts off by describing the recruitment of officials to early posts, and eventually he ends in describing the various groups that ran the government once Yoritomo's administration was firmly established.

The real strength in Goble's essay is the amount of terms he introduces. This might as well have been a glossary of Kamakura period terms. Some of the more important ones he mentions are: monchujo (board of inquiry), mandokoro (chancellors), shitsuji (head of the chancellors), hyojoshu (board of councilors), hikitsukeshu (board of coadjutors), samurai dokoro (board of retainers) and azukari dokoro (custodial offices).



**Muromachi Bakufu Rule
in Kyoto
Administration and
Judicial Aspects
by Suzanne Gay**

I am very quickly becoming a very big fan of Suzanne Gay. This is the only thing I've read of hers that didn't deal exclusively with Sakai or commerce. Despite this not being in what is perceived to be her specialty, it was my favorite essay of the book.

Gay introduces Shugo during this chapter. These were basically powerful warrior leaders that achieved higher status during the Muromachi Bakufu.

In discussing the authority structure, Gay introduces the Kenmon Theory. Kenmon were powerful families, and this theory basically states that they were responsible for distributing authority within the bakufu. Gay breaks down the Kenmon into 3 groups:

kuge - responsible for maintaining customs, included the aristocratic estate and nobility.

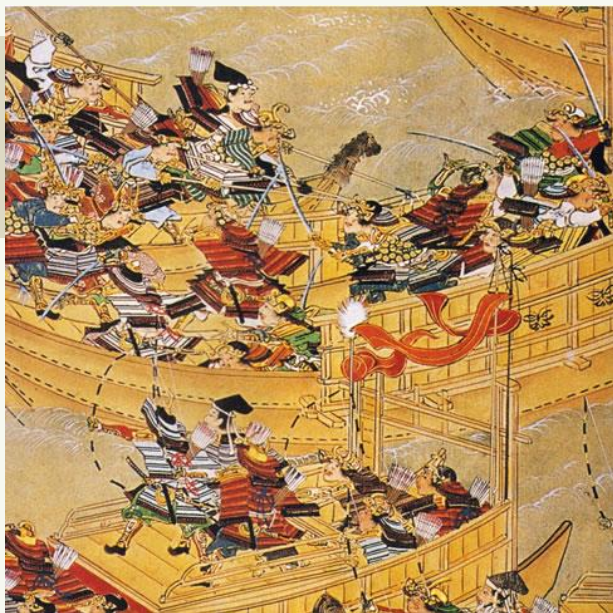
jige - responsible for spiritual services, included temples and shrines.

buke - responsible for defense, included the warrior class.

Gay puts forth the argument that Ashikaga Takauji chose Kyoto as his government's headquarters because it distanced himself from the Kamakura regime. Also, Kyoto was an established city that was very prestigious. Not to mention the fact that there was a built-in commercial base and a strong cultural aspect to the location.

The process of moving the Bakufu to a new city was not a quick one and it involved 4 steps:

- Military takeover
- establishment of maintenance and order in the city
- assumption of judicial authority
- taxation of commerce



**Regional Outposts
of the Muromachi
Bakufu Rule: The
Kanto and Kyushu
by Lorraine F.
Harrington**

This essay's title is self-explanatory. Harrington compares and contrasts the different ways in which the Muromachi Bakufu governed in the Kanto and Kyushu.

Aside from that, Harrington breaks down the Muromachi Bakufu into 3 major periods:

1. The era surrounding the Kanno Disturbance.
2. The late 14th century, which saw the maturation of the Ashikaga institutions.
3. 1392-1430's, which was the apex of Ashikaga rule.

Harrington also breaks down the respective roles of the kubo and the kanrei. (I will not try to explain this here, because it is very drawn out and totally confusing.)

On a side note, Harrington introduces one of the more underrated figures in Japanese history; Imagawa Ryoshun. Ryoshun was a legendary mediator and politician, who successfully negotiated several treaties/truces/alliances/etc. during his lifetime.

The Provincial Vassals of the Muromachi Shoguns by Peter J. Arnesen

I'd say Peter deserves some kudos for having the shortest title of the essays.

I didn't find anything really interesting about Arnesen's essay, unfortunately. He does deal with the power increase of the shugo quite a bit.

If you're interested in the Mori, Kobayakawa or Kikkawa families, Arnesen does a great job of going over their roots in this chapter.



The Toyotomi Regime and the Daimyo by Bernard Susser

Susser opens up the essay by giving the reader his opinion on the overall theme of Japanese political history. That is, serious tension between central authority and the local governments.

Susser goes on to explain how Hideyoshi negotiated this potential problem. The Bountiful Minister did this by creating daimyo who were weak with respect to the central government, but were absolutely powerful in terms of their local territories.

Susser argues that every policy that Hideyoshi created was done so to benefit the daimyo. This includes the cadastral surveys, sword hunts, change of status and even the Korean Invasions. Concerning the Imjin Wars, Susser states:

Quote:

....the Korean expeditions might be seen as another device of the Toyotomi regime to assist the daimyo in stabilizing their domains and asserting control over the local warriors within them.

I'm not so sure about that one Benny.....

Osaka Castle and Tokugawa Authority in Western Japan by William B. Hauser

This was my least favorite of the essays in the book. Hauser argues (relentlessly) that the ordered construction of Osaka castles was a form of Bakufu control over local warriors in Western Japan. The essay does include some detailed registers of daimyo ordered to contribute to the project.

Abe Masahiro and the New Japan by Harold Bolitho

This was another essay that I had trouble enjoying. I did find it interesting that Bolitho starts off the essay by claiming Masahiro was the Tokugawa Shogunate's last great politician, but he spends more time bashing him than praising him.

Bolitho did mention some (very few) of the exploits of Ii Naosuke, which were the highlight of the essay, IMO.

I'm not going to put a rating on this book since it is a collection of essays. I will say that if you are interested in the Kamakura and Muromachi Bakufu, this is a good pick-up.

... and that's the way it was! *Pedro's nostalgia*

originally posted in 2008

The electric toaster had only been around for forty years when I was nine years old. The General Electric company came up with the idea of bare wires wrapped around mica strips. But it only toasted one side at a time. Even though the pop up toaster had been invented 12 years earlier that is how my family (and most people we knew) toasted bread every morning. Oh, we were so modern.



The slice of bread sat on a pull down door (much like an oven door) that one opened frequently to check to see if it was properly browning. When just right the slice would be turned over to toast the other side. And every family had an uncle who was a 'toast expert'. You could count on him to constantly flip the bread back and forth. The mystique was that it toasted more evenly and "kept the nutrients in." Never-the-less, in spite of all our expertise, burned was the usual result with the butter knife serving to scrape off the extra carbon. Now we have toasters with wide slots for bagels, pastries, and Pop Tarts. Some call this progress. Ours looked very much like the one pictured here. It burned one slice at a time. Then they came up with the two hole-er and then the four hole-er. Which reminds me of something else from back in the day. Next year (2009) is the one hundredth birthday of the GE electric toaster. I am going to celebrate it with a long handled fork and toast over an open fire.

Update: I burned the 2009 toast and tossed it to the chickens. I haven't heard a peep out of them since.



We also had a toaster like the one on the left. A two slicer.

I don't eat toast any more.
I quit when it went political.



THE ROMAN CITY OF TRIMONTIVM

by **will bloom** *our correspondent in Bulgaria*

The Roman city of Trimontium, which is the Roman name for today's Plovdiv situated in Bulgaria, was one of the big cities in this part of the Roman Empire with a population of 60 000 people. Lucky for us we have a lot of things left from that time.



It was built at the end of the 1st century by Ulpia Traiana on top of the temple of Bendida. It has 28 roads, the first 14 of which are perfectly preserved even with the numbers of the sections "filii". It was active until the 5th century and restored in 1981. Right now this is the best open-air stage in Bulgaria, because of its acoustics.

The Romans had rules, when building theatres - it had to hold 1/10 part of the population of the city, once it held up to 6,000 people, right now +/- 4 000.

The easiest way to tell the difference between a Roman amphitheatre and a Greek one, without knowing anything is when you look at the difference between the stage and the first row of seats. If it has a one meter distance - then it's Roman, because of the fights with animals [so the audience would be safe], and if the seats start from the bottom - then it's a Greek one, because they didn't have fights with animals.

Also from here, comes one of the theories for the name "Philippopolis", one is that it's named after Philip II and the other is that the name comes from the word "filii", which as I said means sections, and Philippopolis translates into "the city of many sections", as it really was.

THE ROMAN ODEON

Again, it was built in the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century, once it had 4 walls and a roof on top and was used as the city council. Later in the 3rd century it was turned into a mini amphitheatre. We still use it to host small concerts. Once it used to host around 500 people, but now it only hosts about 350 people. It was restored in 2004 with some financial help from the Greek foundation "Levetis".



ROMAN STADIUM ONCE USED TO LOOK LIKE THIS



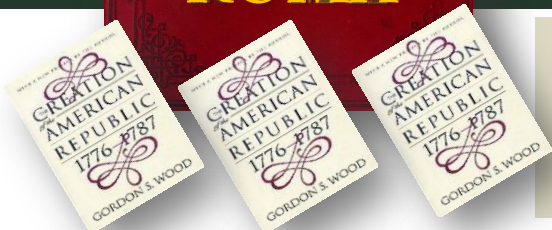
UNTIL ABOUT 3 MONTHS AGO YOU COULD ONLY SEE THIS

The whole stadium is preserved, but we can't uncover it, because we have buildings from the 18-20th century on top. This is our central pedestrian street, but from about 3-4 months we are restoring it (at least a part of it), so in April it should be opened. It was one of the last things that were uncovered, until the early 1970's ; buses used to go on top of this. Built in the 1st and 2nd century it is one of the 12 built on the Delfinian model in the world. The rules for building a stadium stated that it had to host half of the population of the city, in this case 30 000. On it there have been the Alkesandrian and the Kendrizian games -also everything close to the Olympic games. The Olympic flame rested here in 1980.



end

the **AROMA** of old books and coffee



Creation of the American Republic

When I retired in 2005, one of my plans was to spend a lot of time reading about the early United States. I wanted to understand the history of the American Revolution and the development of the peculiarly American persona prior to the American Civil War. I wanted to read the literature that they read and what they wrote during that period. One of the best general histories I have read in that time has turned out to be Gordon S. Woods *Creation of the American Republic*.

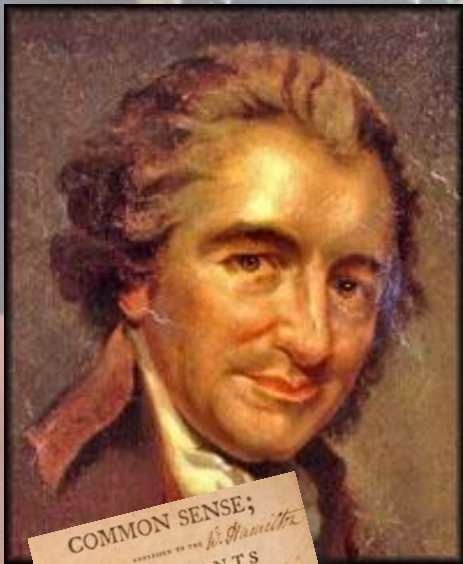
The book covers the period from the War of Independence through the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787. During that period there was a rapid evolution of political thought. It was apparent, for example, in James Otis's *Rights of the Colonists Asserted and Proved*. Notably in that 1765 tract Otis paraphrased Montesquieu's passage about there being no liberty without separation of powers. To Otis, that clearly meant that one person should not hold multiple jobs in government, specifically, the lieutenant governor should not also be chief justice. It was this notion of separation of powers that prevailed in colonials' writings through 1776. Only during the period of the Articles of Confederation did the notion of separation significantly evolve to what became in our Constitution a complete separation of powers. What was new in the Constitution was a genuine concern to make these three departments quite independent of one another. What we took for granted in our high school social studies classes.

Other developments of political theory that came about during this period were ideas like the meaning of sovereignty and republicanism. The notion that the legislature was the center of power in government, not the executive also underwent considerable evolution during that period.

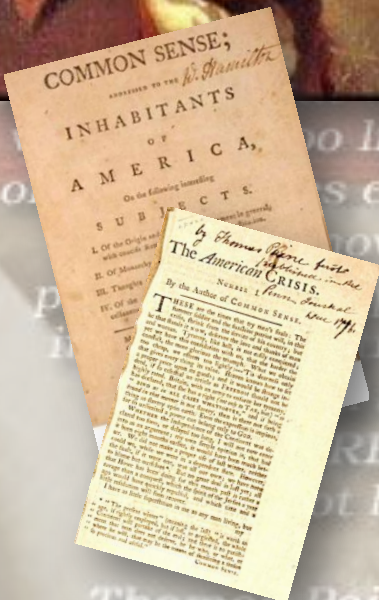
In part I, the author discusses this evolution of ideas during the Confederation at some length. The book was the first I have read that made some of these developments explicit and central to the theme of Constitution building.

Certain other authors would have it that the Constitution was the result of the Federalists gaining sway over the Congress, voting to have a Constitutional Convention, and getting their fellow travellers elected to the Philadelphia Convention (under, some say, false pretenses of only making moderate modifications). Political theory evolved with both the Federalists and anti-Federalists. The Federalists tended to be the more aristocratic, more educated, and held different ideals; that's very true. But much of the debate went with the anti-federalists (as they were called by the federalists). These latter, along with sectional interests, forced many compromises.

Thomas Paine - The Radical by Ashiusx

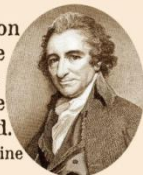


History! History is often said to be shaped by the actions of individuals; by that aphorism you can rightly conclude that it had its fair share of interesting individuals. Well this puts me in the beautiful place of selecting a person. Doing such a task is harder than one might see on the surface. I can't speak for everyone else but for me one individual stick out in the wide crowd of excellence. Thomas Paine; his name will forever be etched in my heart. An average person will never give much thought to his impact. We should remember the great peoples of the past so they don't get engulfed by the unrelenting epochs of history. Why should we remember Tom Paine you say? We should honor his name because of his ideals, impact and his innovation. Paine's driving - mechanisms were his own tenacity, innovative, passion and determination. Perhaps we study him so it might ignite our sense of tenacity, innovative, passion and determination. This radical journalist's actions has shaped our very existence.

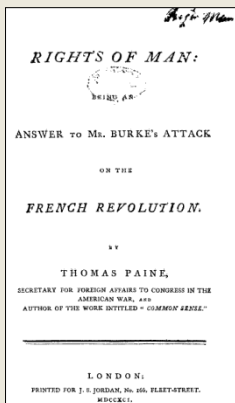
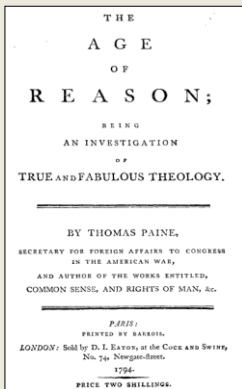


To argue with a person who has renounced the use of reason is like administering medicine to the dead.

• Thomas Paine



Thomas Paine -- The Crisis



Tom Paine is one such individual that everyone seems know the name of but lack sufficient information of him. Who was he? Thomas Paine is the unsung hero of the revolution, the oddball founding father, the firebrand, the agitator, the rebel, the freethinker, the reformer, the writer. So Tom was many things but one other major thing he was a product of the Enlightenment which in its self was a byproduct of the Renaissance. A man of humble origins compared to many of the "aristocratic" founding fathers.

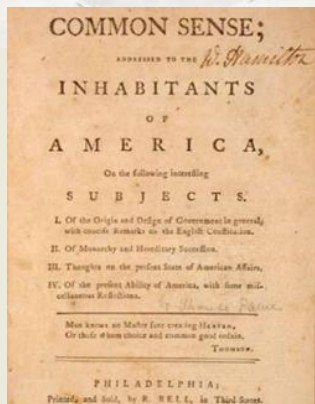
No one could ever calculate that this man hailing from Thetford, England the son of a poor Quaker would have profound effects on history and liberty. The first saga of Paine's life would seem nothing but a series of failures to an observer with no knowledge of Paine's impending fame. For Paine life would always a large struggle from start to end with very few breaks in between; the man who would "melt" the shackles of tyranny in the 13th colonies was born on January 29, 1737 in Thetford, Norfolk, England to Joseph Paine and Frances Paine.

Both of his parents' differing religious denominations (Paine's mother was an Anglican) played a vital role in the making of his character, it most likely installed religious skepticism in him. From onset Paine's destiny looks determined to follow the footsteps of his father to be a staymaker for life after all in those times there was hardly any opportunities for the common folks. Tom attended school a short while; he was forced to drop out due to family's poor income. This would be only formal education he would ever received in his life.

Paine in England to put it bluntly was a "loser"; name a failure that a person goes through more than likely Paine had it. The jobs Paine took up ranged from Tax collector to privateer, he either quit or was fired. Success in his personal life was almost a mirror image of the miserable nonexistent success in his career fields. His two marriages didn't bring much comfort, the first one was to Mary Lambert who died in childbirth while the second one was to Elizabeth Ollive which ended in divorce.

Finally Paine's awakening was arriving; the person who will change the course of Paine's Life was the legendary Ben Franklin. Ben give Paine a letter of recommendation to head to the Americas; buoyed by this and fueled by the failures in his life he voyaged towards to the new world for a new beginning.

Paine's Common Sense also appeared in newspapers such as *The Pennsylvania Packet*, Philadelphia, Saturday, June 10, 1780



Thomas Paine
Common Sense, published in 1776.

Paine's crossing to the New Word almost deprived him of his life; events in Paine's life seem to show that death loves to brush up against Paine. Paine began writing *Common Sense* the legendary pamphlet that will seal Paine's name forever with the American Independence. *Common Sense* spread like the most incendiary, combustible, contagious fire, its word implanted ideas of independence like never seen before, it ultimately burned off the shackles of the British Monarchy, it gives us liberty and without *Common Sense* history of liberty can not be written. All of the economic success gained from *Common Sense* Tom donated to the fledgling Continental Army. Thomas Paine was the main catalyst to the Declaration of Independence without him no such document would exist. Before you start thinking Paine's contributions cease there; Paine did much as he could for a man in his position. An another contribution is virtually impossible to overlook is another pamphlet no shock there Paine's most powerful weapon is his pen. If the pamphlet *Common Sense* was like fire then the pamphlet *Crisis* is like lightning. *Crisis* reinvigorate the American forces, it aroused hope back to life, it gave us victories in the darkest days of the revolution, it words has entered the American Patriotism lexicon. The pen of Thomas Paine will always be linked to the American Revolution. Thus having made a name for himself Paine's craving for successful was fulfilled.



The events of the American Revolution were ushering in a new era; an era of revolution. And Thomas Paine will be in the center of the greatest of the Atlantic Revolutions. Paine ventured back to his native England to start an ill-fated iron bridge project. The boiling point of the enlightenment was arriving the French Revolution. Intellectuals on both sides of the Atlantic were fixed on the French Revolution; many saw it as the salvation to a better world. But as longer the revolution went on opinions were driven farther apart. Edmund Burke a well known Irish-British statesman delivered a powerful pamphlet called *Reflections on the Revolution in France* denouncing the French Revolution. Paine still focused on his iron bridge project abandoned it after having read Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* he was forced to write his counterblast *Rights of Man*. *Rights of Man* is considered to be his best work it was a powerful counter argument to Edmund's work. In fact many of its idea rendered the monarchy and aristocracy useless. Paine always sold his work at the lowest possible price in hopes making his work more accessible to a wider audience. It bought ideas to the common people ideas against the British Monarchy; it shook the foundation there. Not long after the British government began a crackdown on radicals inspired from the French Revolution. Paine's open support for the French Revolution was making him a target for authorities, he quickly fled England on the advice from a friend; If Thomas Paine was captured he would be hanged on the charges of treason. Thrusted into this he took a ship towards Revolutionary France.



Once having reach France he was greeted as a hero of mankind; furthermore he was even made a member of the Revolutionary French National Convention despite not speaking a word of French. In Paris Paine found his life in danger just like England because he argued against the execution of the Louis XVI. Paine's fear prompted him to initiated his most daunting, bold work and ultimately the book that led him to his downfall *The Age of Reason*. The *Age of Reason* was Thomas Paine's polemic against organized religion and more specifically a harsh, ridiculing critique of Christianity. Well it turns out Paine's fear was right, he was imprisoned en the Luxembourg Prison. Luck was on Paine's side, Robespierre's death allowed him to escape the blade of the national razor. Tom was back on the Convention although he didn't have any real influence on the upcoming events. After living in France for about 10 years Paine head back towards his beloved adopted country America under Thomas Jefferson's personal invitation.



Thomas Paine was 65 years old when he arrived back in America; it is easy to think he was longing for a quiet retirement for the rest of his life. Sadly this isn't the case, Paine's *Age of Reason* had made him into an incredibly unpopular man. Where ever he went he was shunned, ridiculed, regarded with extreme disgust by nearly everyone. Thomas Paine found out none of his former friends wanted nothing with him. This pushed Tom farther into isolation and depression; Paine's health began to decline; On June 8 1809 *The Father of the American Revolution* died all alone. Only 6 people bother to come to Poor Tom Paine's funeral, the young man from Thetford had come a long way. He fundamentally changed the world through his writings, he bought politics to the common men, he also bought religious skepticism to the common man, he opposed slavery before it was popular, he was a freethinker before it was popular, he fought for women's rights before it was popular, he thought a world peace organization before anyone else, he argued for a guaranteed minimum income when no else did , he wanted animal rights, he also wanted public education, he invented the smokeless candle and also helped with the steam engine, he opposed the death penalty because he cared for all life. Thomas Paine's life is an example of a selfless man, the one who lived for mankind. Thomas Paine was a hero.



Doris Duke

and
American
Architecture

by jehosafats



Doris Duke (1912-1993) was a wealthy American heiress, philanthropist, horticulturalist and art collector. The only daughter of tobacco and energy magnate James Buchanan Duke, she was shrewd, independent, and mingled with the likes of Elizabeth Taylor and Jackie Onassis. Her father's passing when she was just 12 years old thus made her the "richest girl in the world."

She grew to be very private and enigmatic as she got older. After winning her inheritance and going through two public divorces, she all but disappeared from the public eye. Her suspicious death on her Beverly Hills estate rekindled the media frenzy. She died worth \$2 billion, much of which she left to The Doris Duke Charitable Foundation. Her death was a big story. The famous heiress is portrayed by Susan Sarandon in the HBO film *Bernard and Doris* (2008).

When we were youngsters my friends and I couldn't have possibly gauged her fame. Here was a woman who made her 'debut' guest to the royal family at Buckingham Palace. But to us she was simply a nice lady, obviously very resourceful and even let us camp out on her estate. She owned homes in Beverly Hills and Honolulu, but her main residency was the Duke estate in my hometown - Hillsborough, New Jersey.

Most surprising to me was discovering she was also a noted collector of Islamic art. She traveled the world from India to Cairo to Damascus and returned stateside with an impressive collection. So keen was the heiress, her estate in Honolulu named "Shangri La," is "a center for Islamic arts and culture."

This struck me as interesting, since during this period the Gothic style had long prevailed in the United States. Few American architects paid any attention to Islamic design. Ms. Duke was undoubtedly a pioneer:

"For most Islamic art historians, Shangri La was a kind of rumor, a shadowy place everyone had heard about but few people had actually seen," says Thomas Lentz, director of the Harvard University Art Museums, who visited the new museum last year. "Walking into that building for the first time was an amazing experience. It's a kind of marvelous jumble of mediums, periods and quality you wouldn't find anywhere else. To see an imitation of a 17th-century Safavid palace facing a huge swimming pool on a spectacular site on the coast of Hawaii—after a while, the mind starts to whirl."



“Ordinary Men” as Reflexive Subjects

by Lady Cassandra



A thirty five year old metal worker and policeman of the Reserve Battalion 101 in reference to the actions that resulted in the deaths of an estimated 1,500 Jews in the Polish village of Jozefow is quoted as recounting:

“I made the effort, and it was possible for me to shoot only children. It so happened that the mothers led the children by the hand. My neighbor then shot the mother and I shot the child that belonged to her, because I reasoned with myself that after all without its mother the child could not live any longer. It was supposed to be, so to speak, soothing to my conscience to release children unable to live without their mothers.” (Browning: 73)

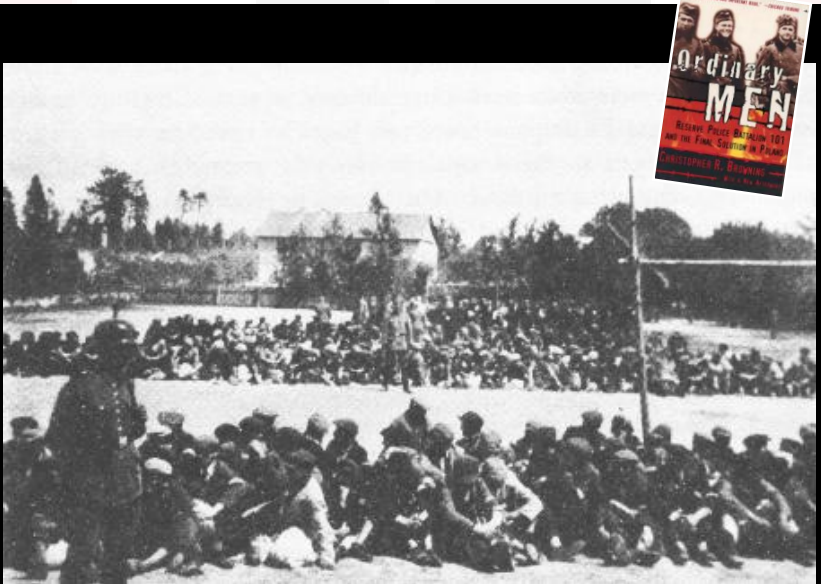
This man is not alone in his attempt to rationalize and explain the disturbing events that took place in Poland during World War II. The men of reserve police battalion 101 who are detailed as the subjects of Christopher Browning’s *Ordinary Men* did not fit the stereotypical model of the Nazi soldier. These men were considered too old to be candidates for the German army; they were of the lower-middle and working classes and typically family men. What is interesting about these men was that they had known Germany before the Nazis and had not grown up under the propaganda of the party and as such they had formed moral opinions separate from those of Hitler’s Nazis.

Very quickly in Browning’s work is the stereotypical image of the Nazi as a moral absolute shattered. And what is found in this text can be read as a kind of historically oriented ethnography. It is a study of men who in all ways would be considered “ordinary” by today’s standards, except for one glaring fact and that is their involvement with the Nazi final solution. By using the narrations and accounts of these men as recorded directly from their mouths Browning is using these stories as a framework for understanding and contextualizing the political conditions that motivated them. The subjects of this text tend to take on the role of a reflexive subject as their reflections are articulated in an attempt to explain their involvement.



Evidence of these notions of reflexivity as experienced by the subject can be seen in the often times messy and obviously fictional accounts provided by many of the men. These accounts serve to both displace and deny the pure moral judgment of black and white, good and evil, typically placed on the perpetrators of the holocaust. Through these conflicting narrations it can be understood that the subjects of Browning's work realize that the world is a social construction and attempt through linguistic communication to actually make and shape reality. These fictions indeed are the ethnographic memory contained in *Ordinary Men* and depict a creative engagement on the part of the police of the battalion. The quote above from the former metal worker is a good illustration of the subject reflexivity found within the Browning text. To most moral codes killing children is wrong but in the rationalization of the unnamed policeman above the act has been turned into an act of mercy and is therefore justifiable.

These experiences serve to remind us of the complex nature of politics especially politics that take place in a unique and hostility filled environment such as that of Germany and Poland in WWII. The multiple perspectives present in the text serve to remind the reader that we will never have a single "true" story of the holocaust and that the events that took place during this time continued to define a reality for those who took part decades later. The ethnographic data present in *Ordinary Men* is essential to looking at the situation portrayed in context.



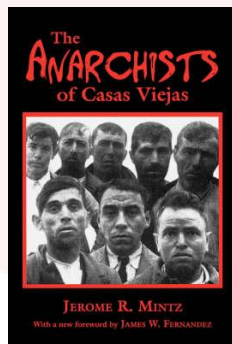
**Men of Reserve Police Battalion 101
guarding Jews on the sports field of Lomazy, before executing them.**

The men of the reserve police battalion 101 in Poland during WWII are not alone in their role as reflexive subjects. Jerome Mintz' text *The Anarchists of Casas Viejas* centers on the troubling setting of an Andalusian rural community early in the twentieth century. Like the subjects of the Browning text the peasant worker community of Casas Viejas take on a role in which they not only examine the events that they took part in but analyze the meaning and place of anarchist ideals in their lives. They too are not just describing the political world around them but contextualizing and shaping it in their attempt to narrate experience.

To understand the complexity and contradictions present in the Mintz text one has to first understand what it is the anarchists strived for and what their ideals encompassed. The anarchy movement developed out of a sense of betrayal that the peasants of Andalusia felt in regards to the authoritative institutions that were governing their community. Workers were living lives of severe hardship where they toiled long hours for extremely low wages, education was a luxury that many parents did not have the means to provide their children with and the threat of starvation was a way of life. The state was viewed as being complacent in these daily struggles and as supporting the large land owners who exploited the peasant working class and the church in particular was viewed as a source of oppressive authority that did not contribute to the community.

A communal way of life was pinpointed as the solution to the troubles of the worker class in Casas Viejas. Local authority was viewed as preferable to a far away and removed authority or the sanctimonious and condemning authority of the church.

Anarchism. Casas Viejas and Reflexivity



Mintz aptly describes the ideology of the anarchist movement present in Casas Viejas in the introduction to his text:

"Rather than externally imposed order, spontaneous social action would prevail...Mankind would be revitalized by new forms of social behavior: Competition would be replaced by cooperation, religious indoctrination by scientific education, armed frontiers by open borders, national patriotism by international fraternization, religious and civil marriage by "free love," and exclusive concern for individual welfare by a search for the common good." (Mintz: 3)

The response to the morals and ideals presented by the anarchist movement to the subjects of the Mintz text however was not always that of fully fledged enthusiasm. This is an aspect of the anarchist movement that would not necessarily be readily apparent without the articulation of the people of Casas Viejas themselves; these people then take on the role of reflexive subject in an ethnography that aims to contextualize our understanding of their political circumstances. The Mintz text specifically gives us such narrations that are quoted from the subjects themselves and shed light on the complex, messy and often contradictory political ideals that became the anarchist movement of Casas Viejas.

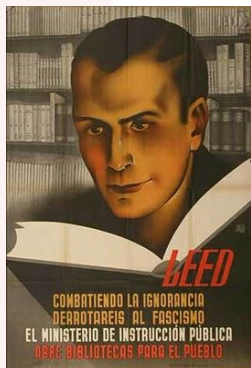
Take for example the case of Jose Olmo.

Olmo was a prominent figure in the anarchist movement of Casas Viejas and beyond; he was one of the first to bring the notions of the anarchist movement into an organized forerunner in the politics of the region. Olmo was highly regarded by the community as an example of the ideal anarchist; from virtually all standpoints he appeared to live his convictions. But as the years and months wore on Olmo was fingered as a leader of the troublesome anarchists by the authorities and had to face many reprisals, these included prison and the withholding of work. Olmo was therefore unable to support his family with the closing of the anarchist centro in Casas Viejas Olmo was a tragic figure. According to the articulation of Jose Monroy Olmo is said to have remarked: "I don't have any work. I have a right to live just like the rest." Monroy elaborates for us: "He was tired, worn out by struggle. The people hadn't done anything for him. The others were working, but he had no work. He (Olmo) said 'If there are 100 men working, why can't you see that he's not working? Why can't you say if he doesn't work, we won't work?'" (Mintz: 112)

With the fall of the centro Olmo went to nearby Medina Sidonia. What we can take from this example is the conflict between the reality of Casas Viejas and the political theory espoused by the anarchist centro. The anarchists talked of communal effort as the key to balancing the social order and class system but at the end of the day families had to be fed and work had to be taken where it could be found. And this often meant leaving fellow anarchists to their own resources, even leaders that were widely respected such as Jose Olmo.

The case of Casas Viejas and its anarchists, especially in the context of Jerome Mintz' text, can be viewed as an opportunity to examine the development of a political movement through the experience of subjects that appear to be conflicting at times and who articulate for us the creative process through which politics are made. The people of Casas Viejas are seen trying to create a new social realm through a paraethnography of rhetoric and language.

below the postersays: Read! Combat ignorance.
Destroy fascism. Ministry of Public Education.
Opening libraries for the people.



Ethnography in Context & Over Time

An ethnographic outlook can provide us with insight from multiple perspectives over a timeline that spans both the historical event in question itself as well as the process of contextualization and memorization that takes place in the years and decades after an event has occurred. It has been established that the subjects of both the Browning and Mintz texts are reflexive in their nature and this implies that they shape the reality concerning the respective events in both books both “in vivo” or while the process is unfolding and retrospectively. This serves to put the experiences detailed into a context that is often messy and seemingly contrary to common theory and opinion.

Both texts provide us with insights from multiple perspectives. In *Ordinary Men* differing outlooks can be seen appearing both over time and from different subjects. At the beginning of their assignment in Poland for example none of the men in Battalion 101 had taken part in a mass extermination. When it came time for them to take part in the massacre of Jozefow there were many men who chose to not take part or who later asked to be relieved of duty. An example of this is the Lieutenant Buchmann who asked for an alternative assignment upon learning the fate of the Jews of Jozefow.

He said he “would in no case participate in an action in which defenseless women and children are shot.” (Browning: 56) As many as 13 other men also chose to step out of their assigned duty for the day upon hearing their orders. Another example is that of Franz Kastenbaum who recounted: “The shooting of the men was so repugnant to me that I missed the fourth man. It was simply no longer possible for me to aim accurately...rather that the first time I intentionally missed...Today I can say that my nerves were totally finished.” (Browning: 67-68)

Yet despite the many who refused or ended up excusing themselves from duty there were others who embraced their duties. Such as the Captain Hoffman who was “furious that one of his men had been the first to break ranks.” (Browning: 57) or the anonymous policemen who berated another as a “shithead” and “weakling” (Browning: 66) for not taking part in the executions. Such is the complexity of the perspectives that one deals with when looking at the Battalion 101 as presented in the Browning text. This complexity gets even messier as we look at the progress of the men over the course of their actions and consider the motivations they had in telling their stories and the very context of trials and court/legal transcripts that the accounts are taken from. It is clear that the historical context of the holocaust can contain radically different ways of constructing experience. To dissect this complexity and inherent messiness ethnography is essential to looking at a culture that is “in extremis” such as the one portrayed by Browning.

The role of ethnography in terms of historical context and the passage of time are also apparent in *The Anarchists of Casas Viejas*. It quickly becomes evident in the reading of the texts of both Mintz and Browning that in reality there is a stark difference between academic theories and lived experience. There is a complexity evident in the Mintz text that conflicts with and in some places outright contradicts contemporary theories of anarchism. This complexity is something that would not be readily apparent to a researcher unless they had a glimpse of the first hand experiences of the common anarchist supporter in Casas Viejas. The messiness involved in the activities and ideological formation of a rural anarchist group such as is seen in the Mintz text would not be readily apparent without an ethnographic approach; the narrative of lived experience is what brings this text to the forefront and allows us to look at reality through multiple and often conflicting perspectives. For example while all of the workers it can be said ultimately wanted the same things: an eight hour day, better wages, overtime pay, etc not everyone would take part in the strikes organized by the anarchist syndicate to protest for these things. A prominent obstacle in this was the *fijos* who had relatively steady work and felt a sense of duty to their *patrones*.

Pepe Pilar recounts: "There were many strikebreakers. They were mostly the older workers who had been raised in the house, and their fathers had been raised in the house as well....They had been raised in the house, and their fathers were raised there, and they knew nothing more than to betray their fellow workers." (Mintz: 103) These strikebreakers symbolize the conflict that anarchism aroused not just between the social classes of patron, state, church and worker but between the workers themselves who at first glance have much in common. The difference in perspective between the *fijos* and others with less stable work is stark and was hard to negotiate for the syndicate.

Even those in the exact same position often met with clashes even between those of their own family. Pepe Pareja, the son of a small renter, tells us: "One has to suck on one teat; one cannot suck on two. If we work for our father and the other workers gain, can we take advantage of what they won? I had many disagreements with my father. He had one type of understanding, and I had another." (Mintz: 104)



What the excerpts above help to illustrate is the difference in understanding in regards to the anarchist movement in Casas Viejas not just between classes that led a very different existence but also the moral questions that the professed ideals of anarchism aroused in the peasants. The questions that they were left to navigate were often complex and the solution not very clear. These questions caused gaps of understanding across the spectrum of both social position and generation. Without the narratives that are found in the Mintz text the picture of anarchism in Andalusia and specifically Casas Viejas may seem clear, what these narratives reveal is the messiness inherent to the forming of political movement. These accounts are the material of an ethnography that reveals much more to the reader than empirical data would be able to. Abstraction is removed when then experiences of the anarchists are allowed to be examined and ethnography reveals how the subjects of Mintz' study formed their own political and social world and articulate this world for us understand fully.

Ethnography and the Performative Nature of Politics

Traditional scientific methods of studying social phenomena involve gathering empirical data and analyzing them mathematically. But when using an ethnographic standpoint these phenomena are captured and modeled linguistically through a "conceptual motor". In the Mintz text we can clearly see the process through which new ideas are created in the political spectrum. The anarchists of Casas Viejas frequently use narrative as an instrument for igniting action while attempting to serve the ideals of their cause. In fact this performative process is used to mold these very ideals to the needs pre-existing ideas of the members of the movement. There is a sense of deep injustice and mistrust in the language used by the anarchists in the Mintz text. These feelings existed in the community of Casas Viejas before the rise of the anarchist movement and were deeply rooted in the society due to the history of oppression the locals had experienced at the hands of not just the state and the wealthy few but also the church. In describing the past relations with the church in Casas Viejas there were many fears and anxieties expressed by the people as well as a deeply rooted resentment for past actions. There are many detailed for us in the Mintz text, one such account is that of Silvestre:

"They would knock on any door. The person inside would ask, 'Who is it?' And they would answer 'The Holy Inquisition.' Since there was so much fear the people would open up right away, and they would take from the house anything they wanted—the woman, the girl, or wheat, or bread, or whatever they wanted." (Mintz: 76)

The feelings of animosity toward authority in Casas Viejas were, at least in part, due to a long history of oppression at the hands of those in positions of authority. It was this deep seated resentment that contributed to the strength and proliferation of the anarchist movement in the region.

Linguistic action was also used to not just articulate and form the ideals of the anarchist movement but also to spread the word. Jose Olmo and other successful leaders of the movement were well spoken of for using their oration skills to enflame the passions of the supporters:

"He was an orator, the fiercest there was. Once in the plaza, looking down toward the civil guard, who were there and could hear him, he said, 'This force, the civil guard—assassins, murderers, cowards.' One couldn't resist his oratory."

The anarchists of Casas Viejas are not just reflexive ethnographic subjects but they are found to be using notions of performativity by using linguistic notions not just to describe



Pepe Pareja.

their world but to actively make and shape their world. Without looking at these subjects from an ethnographic standpoint it would not be possible to understand how they weave narrative together to shape political idioms into a social reality; nor would it be possible to understand such a complex, politically charged environment.

By studying the narrations and articulations of both the people of Casas Viejas and the police of Reserve Battalion 101 through an ethnographic lens we are better able to understand the complex reality of how political ideals as well as social reality are formed through the processes of performativity and reflexivity. This procedure is messy, chaotic and often seemingly contradictory but it is these very notions that make up the substance of historical and cultural context.

HERE'S LOOKING AT EUCLID!

Here's a short essay on *The Elements* that Pixi666 wrote for his Latin class.

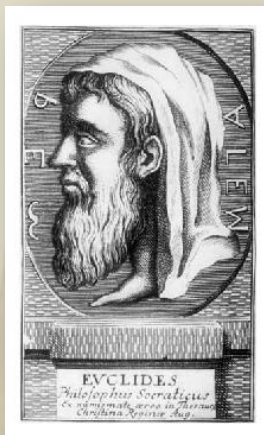
Euclid's Elements

The Elements (Ancient Greek: Στοιχεῖα) was an ancient geometry textbook by Euclid (Ancient Greek: Εὐκλείδης), an ancient Greek mathematician who lived in Alexandria during the reign of Ptolemy I.

The Elements was really more of a compilation of previous works than an original book. Euclid took parts from Hippocrates of Chios (fl. 460 B.C.), Thaetetus (417-396 B.C.), and Theudius. The Elements does not only cover geometry (as it is widely believed), but also covers many other parts of mathematics. Books I-IV cover plane geometry. Book V covers ratios and proportions, and

also looks at irrational numbers (i.e. numbers that cannot be expressed as a ratio between 2 numbers, such as $\sqrt{2}$ and π). Book VI uses the topics explored in Book V to investigate triangles and parallelograms. Books VII-IX look at what we now call 'number theory', the basic properties of positive integers (e.g. odd or even, prime or composite, etc.). The massive Book X (it takes up about $\frac{1}{4}$ of *The Elements*) concerns itself with 'incommensurable magnitudes', or as we call them today, irrational magnitudes. Books XI-XIII look at 3-dimensional geometry, including the famous Platonic Solids (the cube, the tetrahedron, the octahedron, the dodecahedron, and the icosahedron).

The Elements was widely known in the classical world. Geometry was considered a near-holy subject, partly due to the influence of the mystic Pythagoreans. The great philosopher Plato believed that all rulers should be rigorously trained in geometry. In fact, when the ruler of Egypt, Ptolemy I, wanted to learn geometry, he asked Euclid if there was a faster way to learn it than by reading *The Elements*, to which Euclid supposedly responded "There is no royal road to geometry". Various mathematicians wrote commentaries on *The Elements*, and while no ancient Latin version of it has survived, it was definitely known to the Romans (it is mentioned by Cicero). Through the Byzantine Empire, it became known to Arab scholars who kept it alive through the Dark Ages. It was then translated into Latin by European monks in the Middle Ages. It exerted an enormous influence on such figures in the 17th century as Pierre de Fermat (founder of the modern theory of numbers), Johannes Kepler (one of the founders of modern astronomy), Rene Descartes (founder of modern philosophy and creator of coordinate geometry), and Isaac Newton (founder of modern physics, inventor of calculus). More recently, Albert Einstein said that *The Elements* was one of the two things in his childhood that inflamed his passion for science (the other being a compass), calling it a "holy little geometry book".



But what makes *The Elements* particularly extraordinary is what it did for the scientific method. It showed that one could come to a conclusion using a framework of axioms, theorems, and proofs in a completely logical manner. These concepts are still the basis of all science and mathematics today.

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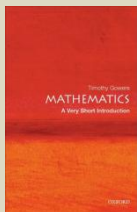
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THE CHILDREN'S CRUSADE

by DreamWeaver

The Children's Crusades of 1212 is perhaps one of the most iconic events of the Middle Ages and of the Crusading period, certainly in popular mythology and popular culture it is one of the most identifiable. People with no historical background are more likely to know the tale of thousands of children, hoping to go on crusade and ending up as slaves in the Mediterranean. Yet how accurate or relevant might these common notions about these events be, or are such tales just a convenient gloss that cover a distinctly more detailed series of events. It has been one amongst many events that have been subject to what some call, 'mythistory.'



The Children's Crusade burst onto the world in 1212 to everyone's astonishment. Certainly no chroniclers had seen it coming or suggested its possibility till it came into being, they certainly seem to have been surprised by it. One might see the Children's Crusade as a throwback to the pilgrimage root of Crusading that had been familiar to Peter the Hermit and Walter San Avoir in 1095.



There were in fact two different group and movements within this crusade, the first a German one in the area of Cologne and the second a French one originating in the area of NE France. Both had separate leaders and progressed separately, under the boy Stephen in France and Nicholas in Germany. Though how much the first, the French one influenced the later, as news and participants migrated across Europe is unknown.

The infectious zeal of popular piety flaring up as news spread may certainly explain it. Certainly there had been preaching tours through the region in the previous years, drawing up support for Gu de Montforts actions on the Albigensian Crusade in Southern France, which had begun in 1209. Likewise crusading spirituality, brought to prominence under Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) and the activities of the Third Crusade (1189-1192), German Crusade (1197-1198), Alarcos (1195), Fourth Crusade (1202-1204) and Albigensian Crusade (1209-1229) and activities in the Baltic had created a permeating miasma of crusading zeal across the Latin West. Certainly the regions of NE France and Cologne had been hotbeds of crusading activity for the past century, and so the people were no strangers to such events or public displays of pious devotion. However the suddenness, scale and impetuousness of the events were themselves disturbing for contemporaries.



Into this then the Children's Crusade appeared to the surprise and condemnation of local chroniclers and ecclesiastics. The boys who are alleged to have started the events claim to have been visited by Jesus and received visions calling them to the cross and the recovery of the Holy Lands. Further divine signs and portents, including the popular medieval trope of a letter falling from heaven, were recorded along their march. Both movements whipped up popular support in their regions they passed through and slowly progressed southwards through Germany and Switzerland, but lacking any substantial leadership or funding soon broke apart, with only small remnants making it to the Mediterranean ports of Genoa, or the Papal Court in Rome. The fate of those who made it to the coast is unknown, though many may have taken up residence in the prosperous cities of Northern Italy, and while popular tale has it that slavery awaited them, and it was a possibility, there is no extensive information to suggest that this was their ultimate fate. Though chroniclers in Outremer do not suggest many actually arrived on the spring or autumn passage of that year. The French contingent marched on Paris where Phillip II had the professors of the University of Paris convince many of them to return home having heard them out. Many did, though other continued to southern France, begging to sustain themselves.

Yet the notion that the crusade actually comprised of nothing but children must be revised. The term often used in chroniclers is 'pueri.' While actually meaning boy in Latin, the use of the term is also widely used in a social context of a social inferior, or those that have not really attained a status in the 'adult' world. Just as in modern time, even recently, that we might use the term 'boy' to refer to a social/economic inferior in a rather dismissive way, regardless of that persons actual age or that they are in fact not an infant or adolescent. Such uses are the same for the middle ages. It is not that there weren't children amongst the host of crusaders, there probably were. But these 'boys' were rural workers, and the petit craftsmen and middle classes of urban environments. Secondly the relative difference in life expectancy and social mores on who works at what age, would have characterized the crusade in a more distinctly youthful fashion. When a considerable number of people were not going to make it over the age of 30, and that concepts of a childhood were virtually nonexistent, so people worked as soon as they are able to, made these 'boys' younger if more experienced than their modern day counterpart, where we might not acknowledge majority until 18/21 or indeed later.



Records of the Children's Crusade also indicate that knights, and clergy were a feature of both the armies. Yet in comparison to other crusading ventures this one was distinctly unorganized even if it did, as per the peoples crusade in 1095, have some military merit. The Children's Crusade was a failure, but that said it didn't really have much of a chance, or stated goal in the first place, and one must wonder how it might progress when the powers that be did not support or back it. It was fighting an uphill struggle, even before one considered the problem of simple logistics.



Yet official frowning upon the matter is understandable. Religious fervor was easy to unleash in the middle ages, but once unleashed hard to control and channel. The action of the peoples crusade in Germany in 1095, and popular heresy in the late 12th and 13th Centuries, Joachim of Fiore had highlighted that. But within a year of these events, the Spanish Christians had achieved a devastating victory at Las Navas des Tolosa, and Pope Innocent III had called for a major ecumenical council (Lateran IV) for 1215 and preparations for a new crusade, the Fifth (1217-1221).



The social upheaval of the Children's Crusade would not be the last of its kind, 1251 would see the Shepherds Crusade threaten to destabilize France in Louis IX's absence. Further would follow, negativity attached to these, as with the Children's Crusade would come from their failures and the relative lessons and morals to be drawn and attached to them. Their spontaneous creation, beyond the bounds of secular or ecclesiastical instigation and control were always a reason for concern as European realms began the formation of future polities.



biography in a quick minute *for those historically pressed for time.*

If there is such a thing as literary atheism then I am one of its non-believing believers. Of course I know that Sherlock Holmes does not exist, but somehow I extend to him the deference usually given to the living. When discussing Sherlock Holmes with another fan, I notice a shift in my thinking as if I was talking about a living person; as if I expected Holmes to join us for lunch.

Anyway that is a good enough excuse to sneak him into a history journal. You may doubt his existence but the true devotee knows what he knows.

The story of Conan Doyle's original mentor is well known but lesser known is the bloke on which he based his Moriarty. *Beetle* gives us the straight dope on that one. Here is what Beetle posted on Historum. --staff--

by Beetle

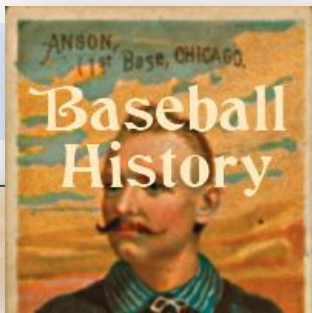
In 1997 the book *The Napoleon of Crime* by Ben Macintyre was published. It was about the master criminal Adam Worth on whom apparently (or obviously) Doyle based his character Professor Moriarty. It's an excellent read; I recommend it to Sherlock Holmes' fans or anyone interested in that historical period.

I think Brett was the best Holmes. Oddly, I have an old VHS videotape of Brett playing Macbeth (Piper Laurie was Lady Macbeth) and I think his Macbeth has been the best I've seen. His portrayal of the highly neurotic thane is a stark contrast to his portrayal of Holmes. Brett once said it was extremely difficult to play Holmes, something about it taking an enormous amount of energy to constrict his emotions in playing the character. I was truly saddened when Brett died at the young age of 56.

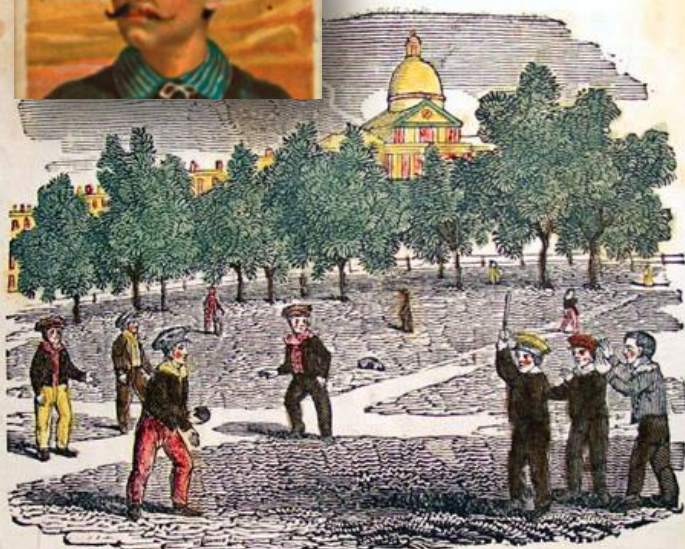
Favorite Holmes' quote (I have to paraphrase it) is the one about when all the possibilities have been excluded, what remains must be the truth, no matter how impossible it might seem.



Early artist conception of Moriarty from *The Strand* magazine.



Back in 2008 our resident baseball fan offered the following and raised a few interesting questions. As you will see some interesting replies were recieved.



A GAME AT BASE BALL.

In the early 1830's baseball was popular enough to warrant the publishing of a rule book. *Robin Carver's Book of Sports* (1834) included rules to the game. Carver's book also included a wood engraving showing the game played on Boston common. The same block was used to illustrate several publications over the next few years, including the first and second editions of *The Boys Book of Sports*. This illustration is said to be the first to depict the game of baseball.

Questions:

Is the pitcher about to throw underhand? Looks more like a rock than a ball.

Why no gloves? Was the artist making it up?

Maybe Historum has a Baseball historian that can answer these perplexing questions.

more





The little k Play.



BASE-BALL.

THE Ball once struck off,
Away flies the Boy
To the next destin'd Post,
And then Home with Joy.

MORAL.

Thus Britons for Lucre
Fly over the Main ;
But, with Pleasure transported,
Return back again.

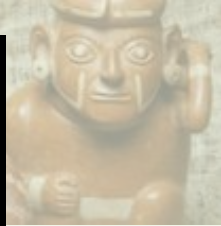
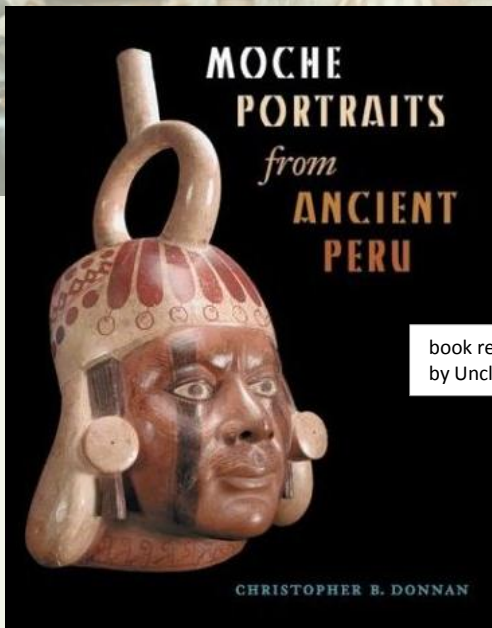
TRAP-

Avon contributed: This woodcut is from 1744 and, whilst supposedly depicting 'stoolball' is the first known publication to carry the word 'base-ball'. The reason for reproducing it here is that the thrower (pitcher?) appears to be ready to throw the ball under-arm.

As for the ball, it would seem that many of the precursors of baseball involve hitting the runner with the ball as opposed to hitting the base. One would imagine that the ball would be reasonably soft!

As Avon showed us the word baseball was first recorded in 1744 in England to which I have since found out was also called 'rounders'. It referred to a game in which a batter hit a soft ball and had to circle round two bases to score runs without being put out by being hit with the ball. Similar to today's cricket. Batting a ball, or any spherical object, with a stick had undoubtedly been

going on since Eve wrecked an apple. We know the game had crossed the Atlantic early, for a game called base was played by soldiers at Valley Forge (1778). In the next century it was known by various names, *stick ball*, *goal ball*, and *barn ball*. By 1920 in New England, they were using four bases instead of two base posts, and running around the four bases which counted as one run. It was at this time the game was divided into two teams. This was played on village greens and called town ball or the Massachusetts game. In the late 1830s, the rules changed a bit when someone suggested the runner could be put out by throwing the ball to the base ahead of him or by touching him with the ball instead of throwing it at him. Now a harder ball could be used, which could be thrown faster and hit farther. This meant the game now needed men in the outfield to catch the ball and players in the infield to guard the bases. The first standard rules were published in 1845 and from there the modern game that we know continued to grow and be refined. All of which is perfectly logical, except for that stuff about 'designated hitter.' I reckon even something as perfect as baseball has to have one flaw.



book review
by UncleFred



Mr. Donnan has spent decades researching and developing his theory on the purpose of Portrait Vessels in Moche society. One is pictured on the cover.

He has shown that warrior-nobles were venerated throughout their lives and Portraits made time and again through the years of their ritual combats. The goal of these single combats was to capture an adversary, bind him and bleed him into cups which were then drank in a ritual by certain Priests. The warriors were then dismembered, along with their portrait vessels shattered and thrown in with the body parts. He illustrates several warrior vessels which were made over decades of a warrior's life, culminating in his final portrait as a bound captive. At least several of them suggest that warriors often were chosen for their role as young boys, probably a hereditary status of the nobility.

These vessels were widely distributed in several Moche river valleys and suggest a veneration of the men themselves, somewhat like our own veneration of sports heroes. It reminds me of the ritualistic combat of the medieval nobility of Europe, only with an added element of the Sacred. The vessels were of varying qualities, suggesting that the vessels were common with all classes of the class conscious Mochica society.

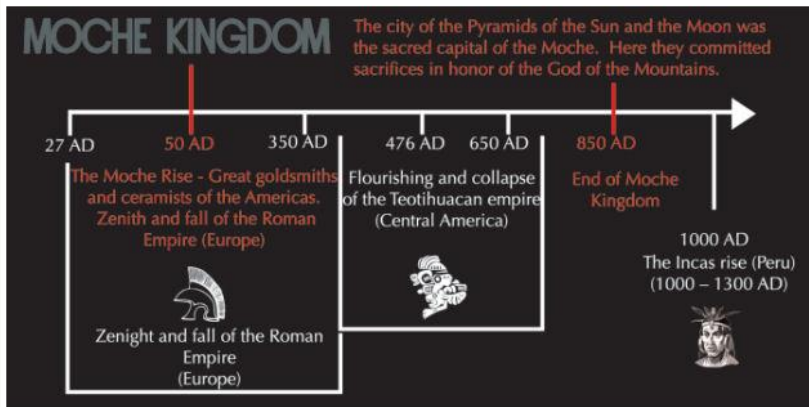
Traces found suggest that an alcoholic drink was often held in the vessels. The idea of Sacred, ritualized combat and the organized veneration of the warriors is so interesting to me. One can imagine the people collecting the heads and trading them as they drink together in evening gatherings.

Moche Fineline Painting on ceramics detail ritual and warfare



Donnan notes that in the last years of decline following the El Nino years and the drought which followed, the practice of Portrait Vessels seems to have ceased and was replaced with generic vessel heads rather than portraits. Ritual combat by the nobility seems to have been replaced by war between cities, competing for the depleted resources.





Source: www.huacasdemoche.pe

The Moche were the victims of some of the most extreme climate change events in history. While dominating the Northern coast of what is now modern Peru for 600 years, they suffered an estimated 30 yrs of flooding followed by 30 years of drought, all from extreme El Nino events. Their elaborate canals and irrigation systems were disrupted, and the farming and agriculture suffered severely. This led to a reorganizing and rebuilding of their society which plunged into a downward cycle of intense ritual sacrifice which increased in scope and brutality , eventually coming to an end as a culture some 200 years or so later.

The Moche performed amputations of the feet. Several ceramics have been found with amputated characteristics and skeletal evidence also.

right: Moche ceramic vessel showing an individual with missing feet and mutilation of the nose and lips.





The Moche were not only the great ceramists of the Americas, but also great goldsmiths. People often don't realize the pre-columbian era was a peak time of gold and metal working, both for art, utility, objects of ritual and weapons.





Breiseis started a thread asking who was the maddest, weirdest king, leader, whatever. This is one of the responses to the question.



by **Brunel**

King Charles VI of France, who ruled from 1380 to 1422, was mad. He was stark raving bonkers. He thought he was made of glass, and was constantly terrified that he will suddenly shatter into many pieces.

His first known bout of madness occurred in 1392 when his friend and advisor, Olivier de Clisson, was the victim of an attempted murder. Although Clisson survived, Charles was determined to punish the would-be assassin, Pierre de Craon, who had fled to Brittany.

Contemporaries said Charles appeared to be in a "fever" to begin the campaign and appeared disconnected in his speech. Charles set off with an army on 1 July 1392. The progress of the army was slow, nearly driving Charles into a frenzy of impatience.

As the king and his escort were travelling through a forest on a hot August morning, a barefoot leper dressed in rags rushed up to the King's horse and grabbed his bridle. "Ride no further, noble King!" he yelled. "Turn back! You are betrayed!" The king's escorts beat the man back but did not arrest him, and he followed the procession for a half-hour, repeating his cries.

The company emerged from the forest at noon. A page who was drowsy from the sun dropped the king's lance, which clanged loudly against a steel helmet carried by another page. Charles shuddered, drew his sword and yelled "Forward against the traitors! They wish to deliver me to the enemy!" The king spurred his horse and began swinging his sword at his companions, fighting until one of his chamberlains and a group of soldiers were able to grab him from his mount and lay him on the ground. He lay still and did not react, but fell into a coma. The king had killed a knight called "The Bastard of Polignac", and several other men, the number of which varies among contemporary chronicles.

Charles VI reigned during the Hundred Years War, when the English kings tried to take back the lands stolen from their ancestors by the French. To try and establish peace Charles's six-year-old daughter Isabella of Valois married the 29-year-old Richard II of England in 1396.

England, under Henry V, invaded France, leading to the English defeating the French at Agincourt.

In 1420, King Charles signed the Treaty of Troyes which recognized Henry of England as his successor, disinherited his son, the Dauphin Charles claiming he was illegitimate, and betrothed his daughter, Catherine of Valois, to Henry.

Art History a la Pedro!



On the left is an early cubist work by Picasso. On the right is the tunic worn by Saint Francis of Assisi as it appears today in the capilla de las Reliquias. Was the good saint some sort of proto-cubist? To me it looks more like a Braque creation than a Picasso. What might Francisco have accomplished if only he could have afforded paints and brushes? It boggles the mind to realize that many a flower is destined to waste it's fragrance on desert air.
[oh...wait...that is another art form.]

This medieval miniature of a Crusader battling a Turk could also be considered a precursor of cubism. .. or not.



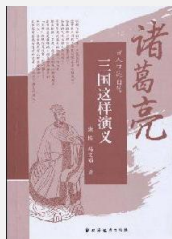
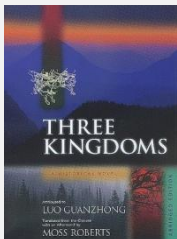
The Machiavellian Ideal: Putting Liu Bei to the Test

by Jim R. McClanahan
a/k/a ghostexorcist

What makes the perfect prince? Is it his bravery in battle or the sage laws he passes, his great compassion or the punishment he metes out to the wicked? These qualities and more are discussed in Niccolo Machiavelli's sixteenth century book *The Prince* (1532), a how-to manual for would-be rulers. This work was written during the Italian Renaissance. Could it be used to gauge the princely worth of someone who lived centuries before Machiavelli's time and in a country thousands of miles away? Since the problems faced by governing figures-- legislation, taxation, rebellion, war, etc-- are universal to all societies, I intend to use *The Prince* to analyze the ancient



Chinese general-turned-Emperor Liu Bei (刘备, 166-223). But instead of relying on strait forward history records, I will base the study on his portrayal in the 14th century novel *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (三国演义), a fictionalization of historical events that took place during the Han Dynasty (206 BCE-220 CE). I am doing this because Machiavelli's vision of the prince is idealized, as is the novel's portrayal of Liu Bei. I will also be quoting heavily from the Confucian *Analects* (论语) and the Daoist *Daodejing* (道德经) to note surprising similarities in eastern and western ideas on what constitutes the actions of a perfect ruler. As will be seen, although he shares some similarities with the Machiavellian prince, Liu Bei is in fact not one.



In *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (hereafter *Three Kingdoms*), Sun Quan (孙权) fears the invasion of the Southland when he learns Liu Cong (刘琮) has submitted to Cao Cao (曹操). Lu Su (鲁肃) then volunteers to go to Jiangxia (江夏) to talk Liu Bei into joining forces so that the combined armies of Liu and Sun can meet Cao in battle.[1] *The Prince* warns "that a prince must avoid ever joining forces with one more powerful than himself to injure others, unless necessity compels you ... For if you win you remain his prisoner." [2] I read this to mean a prince will owe a debt of gratitude to his more powerful counterpart, but, in the context of *Three Kingdoms*, it is a perfect illustration of how Sun Quan and Zhou Yu (周瑜) try to imprison [3] and even eliminate [4] Liu Bei because he is a growing threat. Even the *Daodejing* warns, "A lesser state, by placing itself below a great state, can be taken by the greater state." [5] Despite the threat, the paltry size of Liu Bei's forces necessitates the merger. He does this because, as the *Daodejing* explains, "They achieve their goal because they have no choice." [6]

After the death of Zhou Yu, Liu Bei's clansman Liu Zhang (刘璋) sends Zhang Song (张松) to the north to form an alliance with Cao in order to stop Zhang Lu (张鲁) from attacking the Riverlands. Following his unproductive meeting with Cao, Zhang seeks out Liu Bei so that he can talk him into taking the Riverlands for himself. Liu resists at first, but the "Young Phoenix" Pang Tong (庞统) talks him into taking the territory for the good of the Han Empire. Upon becoming the "Protector of the Riverlands," Liu Bei returns the fields to the locals and harshens the area's soft laws.[7] This move simultaneously compliments and contradicts a number of tenets laid out in *The Prince*. By giving his own people dominion over the crops and dwellings of a conquered country, the prince



A 7th century painting of Liu Bei (166-223) as emperor of the Shu Han state

only those whose fields and houses have been taken away." [8] Granted, this passage refers to colonies sent in a prince's stead, but it could easily be applied to Liu Bei's troops. At the same time, this move disagrees with *The Prince* when it states: "But above all else, he should abstain from seizing the property of others; for men forget the death of their father more quickly than the loss of their patrimony." [9] The *Daodejing* confirms this by asking: "Your body or your property, which is of greater value?" [10] Under this context, "body" could be read as "bloodline." As for the laws, Liu Bei again fails in this respect for *The Prince* comments it is imperative that the laws and taxes of a people should not be changed so their way of life will not be greatly affected by the shift in the ruling family. [11]



the Battle
of Red Cliffs



Kongming



Lu Su



Zhang Fei

The Prince states that it is admirable if a prince can keep his word.[12] The Chinese favored such a quality as well. The *Daodejing* says: "[the greatest rulers] are cautious and honor words." [13] The *Analects* comment: "As for persons who care for character much more than beauty...[they] make good on their word." [14] However, *The Prince* notes it is more valuable if he is able to resort to trickery. A good example of Liu Bei resorting to deception in *Three Kingdoms* (52-56)—albeit with the help of his advisor—is when he and Kongming (孔明) use multiple ruses to hold on to territory much sought after by Sun Quan. After the Battle of Red Cliffs, Kongming allows the forces of Sun and Cao to cancel each other out so that he can acquire the cities of Nanjun (南郡) and Xiangyang (襄阳). Sun later sends Lu Su to acquire Jingzhou (荊州), but Liu and Kongming talk him into delaying the transfer until the death of Liu Biao's (刘表) son Liu Qi (刘琦). Upon Qi's death, Sun again sends Lu Su to claim ownership of Biao's land, but they manage to talk him into letting them temporarily "borrow" the territory until they've had a chance to conquer the Riverlands and move their base there. After Sun fails to kidnap Liu, Zhou Yu sends Lu for a third time. Liu Bei puts on a heartfelt show of crying and explains that it is impossible to honor their agreement since his clansman Liu Zhang still lords over the territory.[15] *The Prince* also says a prince should be able to call upon the skills of the lion and fox: force and treachery. They should not keep their word if it is to their disadvantage.[16] This is another area where Liu fails as a Machiavellian-style prince as he keeps to the peach garden oath at the cost of his empire. Following his ascendancy to the Shu Han throne, Liu Bei exclaims: "[W]e bound ourselves in honor and allegiance in the peach garden, swearing to live or die as one. Alas! My second brother, Lord Guan, met his doom ... Unless we take revenge on this enemy, the covenant is betrayed. Therefore, we intend full mobilization for war ... to redeem our shame." [17] He is talked out of action, but after the murder of Zhang Fei (张飞), Liu forsakes his life as an emperor in order to avenge the oath.[18] Although Liu fails in this area, there is evidence in the *Analects* that Confucius (孔夫子) himself did not take oaths lightly. The *Analects* tell a tale of Confucius greatly angering his disciple Zilu (子路). When he learned of this: "The Master swore an oath to him, "For whatever I have done to offend, may *tian* abandon me! May *tian* abandon me!" [19] While not an oath in the sense of brotherhood, this is still a powerful invocation as *tian* (天) can mean the world itself.[20]



Liu Bei

The *Daodejing* says: "Heaven is able to be long lasting and Earth is able to endure, because they do not live for themselves... This is why sages put themselves last and yet come first."

Proficiency in military arts is a must for a would-be ruler according to *The Prince*. [21] Liu Bei met this tenet in his youth because he received military training and was able to direct his brothers in battle against the Yellow Scarves. However, his skills grow lax due to his over reliance on Kongming's battle strategy. This is painfully evident during Liu's push to the Southland. Instead of taking up a more compact posture, he spreads 40 bases out over a 700 li area. Upon learning this, Kongming immediately calls for the execution of the strategist who came up with the plan. But after hearing it was Liu Bei, he woefully exclaims: "To pitch the camps like that violates every rule. If they attack by fire, he cannot be saved; nor can such a string of forts hold off the enemy. The end is not far off." [22] *The Prince* also says that a prince should continually subject himself to the rigors of training, including exercise, hunting, and terrain mapping, even during a time of peace. [23] Again, he previously adhered to this before the Battle of Red Cliffs when he takes his forces to Jiangxia to whip them into shape. [24] However, he fails to follow this during his last military excursion. When he comes upon the tightly defended force of Lu Xun (陆逊), Liu Bei decides to move his army from the blazingly hot plains to the cool forested hills. Sometime later, Lu Xun explains to his generals: "When [Liu] first deployed his forces, their order was precise, their discipline tight. Now after their long but fruitless wait, his men are worn down." [25] It is shortly after this that Lu takes advantage of Liu Bei's weakened army and botched strategy by setting his camps on fire. [26] This entire episode perfectly illustrates *The Prince's* notion that: "A prince who lacks this expertise [in terrain mapping] lacks the most important quality in a commander, because it teaches you to find the enemy, choose a campsite, lead troops, organize them for battles, and besiege towns to your own advantage." [27]

The Prince comments: "A prince should...demonstrate that he is a lover of the virtues, by giving hospitality to virtuous men and by honoring those who excel in a particular skill." [28] *The Analects* confirm: "Raise up the true and place them over the crooked, and the allegiance of the people will be yours." [29] If this holds true, it stands to reason that a prince would employ some of these skilled men to be his advisors. According to *The Prince*, a prince is worthless if he is surrounded by worthless advisers. This is because he lacked the ability to see through their faults. And if he does not have the foresight to choose good advisors, he will not make good decisions as a ruler. One way for him to choose men of virtue is to see whether they think more of themselves or the state. [30] *The Daodejing* says: "Heaven is able to be long lasting and Earth is able to endure, because they do not live for themselves...This is why sages put themselves last and yet come first." [31] Liu can therefore be considered, at least in this area, a prince because he is a magnet for men of talent. Once he coaxes Kongming from his hermitage, it becomes apparent that the Daoist is the person Confucius spoke of in the *Analects* "who would approach any situation with trepidation, and who would be fond of planning with an eye for success." [32]

Liu Bei may share a few similarities with the Machiavellian Prince, but it is evident that he lacks the military prowess and ability to forsake his promises and become cruel if he has to. He is far too caught up in his own public image to do the things that are necessary to further his power. *The Prince* warns: "Men are less hesitant about injuring someone who makes himself loved than one who makes himself feared." [33]

Notes

- [1] Luo Guanzhong, and Moss Roberts, *Three Kingdoms: A Historical Novel* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1999), 193-196.
- [2] Niccolo Machiavelli, and Peter Bondanella, *The Prince* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 78.
- [3] Luo, 290.
- [4] Ibid, 223 and 301.
- [5] Laozi, and P. J. Ivanhoe, *The Daodejing of Laozi* (New York: Seven Bridges Press, 2001), 64.
- [6] Ibid, 30.
- [7] Luo, 309-312 and 317
- [8] Machiavelli, 10.
- [9] Ibid, 58.
- [10] Laozi, 47.
- [11] Machiavelli, 10.
- [12] Ibid, 60.
- [13] Laozi, 17.
- [14] Confucius, Roger T. Ames, and Henry Rosemont, *The Analects of Confucius: A Philosophical Translation* (New York: Ballantine Pub. Group, 1998), 72-73.
- [15] Luo, 285, 288-289, and 300.
- [16] Machiavelli, 60.
- [17] Luo, 358.
- [18] Ibid, 361.
- [19] Confucius, 110.
- [20] Ibid, 46.
- [21] Machiavelli, 52.
- [22] Luo, 368.
- [23] Machiavelli, 51.
- [24] Luo, 192.
- [25] Ibid, 366.
- [26] Ibid, 369-371.
- [27] Machiavelli, 51.
- [28] Ibid, 78.
- [29] Confucius, 80.
- [30] Machiavelli, 79-80.
- [31] Laozi, 7.
- [32] Confucius, 113.
- [33] Machiavelli, 58.



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I'm only here to
keep the pages
apart or some
sort of tech
thing.
Pay me no mind.



Exploring THE HISTORY OF THEATRE

by Anna James

The Greek drama developed out of the religious ceremonies of the cult of Dionysus - and during the ceremonies stories were told with music and dance. Herodotus says that the cult of Dionysus started with Melampus, a mythical seer, who told the Greeks about Dionysus and how he is to be worshipped.

Herodotus gives 3 theories from where the cult came:

1. from Egypt, identifying Dionysus with Osiris - Herodotus in his "Histories" identifies all gods of other peoples with the Greek gods, in this way "translating" to his Greek readers the meaning of how he was talking about; in the same way he identified the Thracian Mother Goddess Bendis with the Greek Artemis.
2. Locally generated
3. "... But I believe that Melampus learned the worship of Dionysus chiefly from Kadmos of Tyre and those who came with Kadmos from Phoinikia [modern Lebanon] to the land now called Boiotia."..." Her. Hist. 2:49

Anyway, Dionysus was placed by the Greek mythology in Thrace, and from this cult came the 2 types or Orphism - Thracian Orphism, and the Greek Orphism. It is believed that this was an Ancient Anatolian cult, that passed in Greece. There are parallels with the Babylonian Tammuz/Dumuzi and the Egyptian Osiris, all of which are the type of dying-and-resurrecting gods; which doesn't necessarily mean that they influenced each other, or that they came from the oldest one /the Tammuz/Dumuzi cult/; such connection may have, or may not have been.

For our purposes here we need to know only that the said festivals were noisy and popular affairs, with phallic processions, drinking, and all, and story-telling, that evolved into plays. Pausanias mentions the Odeon in Athens, that was dedicated to Dionysus in his "Description of Attica".



A Greek Travelling Theatre - Ceiling Fresco, 1884-1887 by Gustav Klimt

The earliest recorded time when a play was set in a theater is 536 BC, when a guy called Thespis set the first play as a part of the Dionysis's Festival in Athens; the festival itself was found in Athens under Pisistratus in 540 BC. There were 2 Dionysis Festivals - Leneia in January and the Great Dionysia in March. This was the only time for the Greeks to watch plays, so they made the best of it - they went into their local theater /every Greek city had one, even if they were in "provincial" ones, like the Greek polises in Thracia/. So, the people went in the theaters with their food and pillows and stayed there for 3 days, watching plays. The first row of seats was reserved for high priests and government officials.

The selection of the plays was made by 5 judges, to whom every poet could submit 4 plays /3 tragedies and 1 comedy/, and only 3 poets would be selected to show their plays. These productions were payed by the state, but sponsored by rich citizens; the pay was 3 obols /I read this as the usual price, but in other books is said that it was free for all/, and those who couldn't afford it, were let to watch anyway, and the tickets for them were paid by the sponsor. If the play that the sponsor was sponsoring won the 1st place, this brought him a big honor.

The Ancient Greek drama was actually the first European opera too, because the part of the actors was not spoken, but declamed, and since Ancient Greek language was musically inflected language, the effect was one of a chanting. Also, the parts of the choruses were sung; unfortunately to my best knowledge no recorded music is passed to us. The plays were rarely recorded, they were memorized, which led to losing of most of them; but we have some plays that were recorded, and some of them are still performed today. Once a play was performed, it was never performed again, or, in the rare cases that it was played again, it was in the Antesteria Festival to Dionysus.

by NewModelSoldier



The Russo-Japanese War

In 1904, the ambitions of two imperial powers generated enough friction that war seemed the only solution. The power players were Russia, seeking to expand their influence in the East, and Japan, coming out of the Meiji Restoration with Western military training and hungry for expansion as its population grew. The two powers came into diplomatic struggles over issues involving Korea and Manchuria, both seeking to secure those lands to further their empires.

Popular opinion in the West was that Russia with her large armies would annihilate the smaller Japanese forces, but most ministers in the Japanese government were confident in their highly professional army and navy.

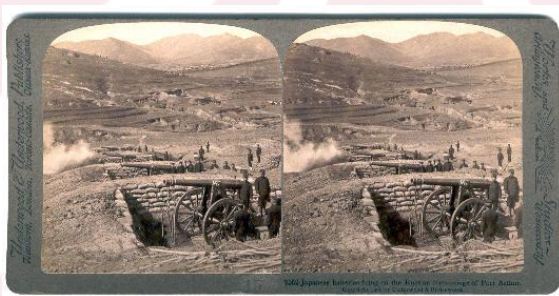
The arrogance of the Russian Tsar, Nicholas II, frustrated negotiations between the two empires, and the Japanese attacked, the Russians receiving a Declaration of War three hours later.





"Picture of Our Valorous Military Repulsing the Russian Cossack Cavalry on the Bank of the Yalu River" by Watanabe Nobukazu (1874-1944), March 1904. copy located in Sharf Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Port Arthur, the only Pacific port that functioned all year round for the Russians took the first Japanese attack. This sneak attack was performed on the 8th of February at 2230 by Admiral Togo, referred to as "the Nelson of the East" by Western journalists. Despite excellent conditions for ambush, the attack yielded less than satisfactory results, though the largest Russian ship, the Tsesarevich, was disabled by determined Japanese gunnery. The Russians remained on the defensive until Admiral Makarov assumed command in March, and went on the offensive, building confidence as the Japanese repeatedly tried to seal the port off and neutralize it. However, in April after a successful attack on the Japanese, Makarov's ship struck a Japanese mine on the return home, and sunk. Makarov and many other officers and seamen were killed in the sinking, which resulted in a huge blow for Russian morale. During the course of the war, Russia could never replace Makarov's experience, skill and charisma. After such a loss, the Russians were even more reluctant to pursue the Japanese out into open waters, costing them in the long term.



'Japanese batteries firing on the Russian forts - Siege of Port Arthur'.

If you want to experience 3D Stereo without glasses, one way to do it is called cross-view or cross eyed. Google it for complete directions.

Battle of Yalu River - During the skirmishes and forays around Port Arthur, divisions from the 1st Imperial Japanese Army (hereafter referred to as the IJA) landed at Incheon, Korea in February with roughly 40,000 men, quickly advancing through and capturing Pyongyang on the 21st February (13 days after the first Japanese attack at Port Arthur). After taking the port of Chinampo, the rest of the army was able to land by the end of March, and close to Russian controlled Manchuria.

On April 21st (8 days after the death of Makarov), the Japanese began gathering intelligence of the Russian positions. Using spies dressed as Korean fishermen, and bushes and millets to disguise artillery pieces and troop movements. The intelligence gathered by the Japanese was so admirable that their figures of the Russian strength were only off by a thousand, and on the Russian guns, off by a mere 2.



"Our Forces Crossing the Yalu River: In Honor of Lieutenant General Nozu" (detail) by Watanabe Nobukazu, October 1894

At night on April 25th, the Japanese took the forward observation posts of the Russians who retreated after a short exchange of fire. The IJA engineers constructed 10 bridges to cross to the Russian positions, one purposely exposed to draw Russian battery fire, which it did. The remaining nine however were built and IJA troops were ready for assault. The Russian commander, Zasulich, was duped by a series of skirmishes and stubbornly rejected advice from his commanders and left his left flank weak and exposed.

April 27th saw the attack begin in the early hours of the morning, with fog concealing the IJA assault. At 0500 the Japanese artillery opened up on Russian positions, and within five hours, the Russians were in full retreat, Zasulich refusing to leave his position as his troops faced lacerating blows from the Japanese howitzers. A Siberian counterattack was made, but the regiment was brutally cut down by the torrential Japanese fire, and by noon, the Russians had collapsed from the intense pressure of the IJA. The Battle of Yalu River was at a close, the Japanese attackers taking a 1000 casualties versus a combined casualty total for the Russians of roughly 2000.

The Japanese general, Koruki, had defeated his obstinate Russian counterpart with rapid efficiency and excellent use of engineers and modern technology, revealing the concentrated will and skill of the IJA in conjunction with excellent use of their Western training.



Building off the success of the attack at Yalu, the IJA drove the Russian forces back towards Port Arthur. The Russian forces were restricted by their commands to operate on the defensive, using a series of delaying tactics to hold off the Japanese until reinforcements arrived from the Trans-Siberian railway.

Engagements such as the Battle of Nanshan (25th-26th May, 1904) saw the IJA press brutally against the Russians, acquiring their objectives at a high human cost. The brave Japanese soldiers normally came upon withering fire from the Russians who fired from sandbag defences. Still, the dominance of the Japanese artillery and the endless ferocity of the Japanese infantry assaults saw the Russians retreat and retreat, yielding significant casualties themselves, many captured.

After Nanshan, a string of Japanese victories at Telissu (14th-15th June), Motien Pass (17th July), Ta-shih-chao (24th July), and Hsimucheng (31st July) led the IJA to squeeze the Russian fortifications at Port Arthur.



August 10th saw the Russian pacific fleets attempt to break out from their enclosure in Port Arthur and link up with the cruiser force at the Russian port of Vladivostok, with news of the move reaching Vladivostok on the 14th. The August 10th attempt was known as the Battle of the Yellow Sea, and saw the Russian fleet defeated (the commanding Russian Admiral, Vitgeft, was killed along with his staff when a Japanese shell landed a direct hit on the bridge). The effort at Vladivostok came to be called the Battle of Ulsan and also saw the Russian fleet there defeated.

The Siege of Port Arthur

The longest and the most merciless of all the engagements in the Russo-Japanese War began on 7th August, 1904, with shelling of the Orphan Hills which would provide the Japanese with an excellent position for artillery fire and complete the encirclement of Port Arthur. After an almost full day of artillery bombardment, the Japanese attacked late at night, their attacks faltering due to a combination of poor visibility, and heavy rain as well as a frontal assault by an enemy who used efficient spotlights, artillery screeching down upon the advancing IJA soldiers, many who drowned in the river crossing.

Finally on the 9th August, the hills had both been secured after heavy fighting, the Japanese accruing almost 1300 casualties. The subsequent loss of the hills alarmed the Tsar enough to order the Admirals at Port Arthur and Vladivostok to link up (resulting in the Russian naval defeats at Yellow Sea and Ulsan).

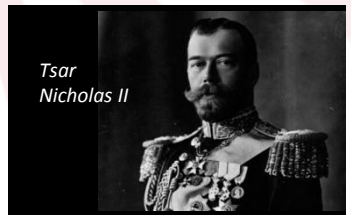
The Japanese general, Nogi, was taken aback by the overall uncoordinated structure of the Russian artillery, something he discovered when launching an aerial reconnaissance balloon on the 13th August. Hoping to play on this, he began a full frontal assault on the heavily fortified positions at Port Arthur proper, with horrific results. The only success came at 174 Hill, which had been defended by a Russian veteran of Nanshan, Colonel Tretyakov. For such a small gain, the Japanese suffered 16, 000 casualties. Such losses forced Nogi to switch the tactical nature of his mission from rapid-fire capture to siege. The IJA made good use of their engineers and sappers and worked tirelessly to undermine enemy fortifications, build bridges, construct trenches and tunnels set up mines. The Russian general, Stoessel spent most of his time complaining to the Tsar while the Japanese continued to labour around the clock. With news that the Russian Baltic Fleet was on its way, the IJA at Port Arthur knew they had to secure victory as soon as possible. Facing pressure from political opponents back home and other generals at Port Arthur, Nogi geared up his forces for another massive assault, this time at Hill 203.



Above: Men seating on the shore before Russian Battleships at Port Arthur



Unburied Russian Corpses at 203 Meter Hill near Port Arthur



Tsar Nicholas II

Two frontal assaults in October had been met with fierce resistance and pushed back, and another in November saw gains with serious loss of life for the Japanese. From the 28th November to the 5th December, the assaults on the Russian positions were vicious and gruesome, the Russians making good use of grenades and machine guns, the hellish machines pouring forth endless waves of heated death, the fiery lead punching and ripping through the tightly packed Japanese assault teams, led by incredibly brave officers wielding swords and pistols.

Mines exploded, bodies caught and torn apart on barbed wire and lay hanging as a grim testament to the Japanese cost. The screams and cries of the soldiers on both sides would be lost in the ocean of cacophonous sound as artillery shells descended at furious speed upon their targets, blasting men apart, the fragments slicing through eyes, stomachs and groins to leave the hideous survivors to die in an agonizing slow death, squirming in the bloodied mud. Those who survived the blast of mines and the shattering death of artillery took part in chaotic hand to hand fighting, bayonets slamming into bellies to spill out the hot guts upon the cold earth. The raging rattle of the machine guns was unceasing, but the Japanese would not and could not quit, the gamble must pay off, the Empire had to be secured here against Russia.

December 5th, it ended, the assaults were finally finished and the Japanese secured the heights, using the land-based artillery to open fire upon the exposed Russian Pacific Fleet which was virtually annihilated by the close naked fire. 8,000 Japanese casualties alone occurred on the final day, with many thousands more sustained in the previous days. The Russians capitulated after the loss of the Pacific Fleet and a series of mines being collapsed by Japanese sappers. January 5th saw the official surrender take place. About 30,000 soldiers and sailors along with their officers surrendered, with Japan taking an overall loss of almost 58,000 casualties. During the Siege of Port Arthur, the Japanese had faced off aggressive Russians outside of the Port at Liaoyang (25th August-3rd September), Shaho (5th-15th October) and Sandepu (26th-27th January).

Battle flags flying, the Russian Baltic Fleet approaches its clash with Togo



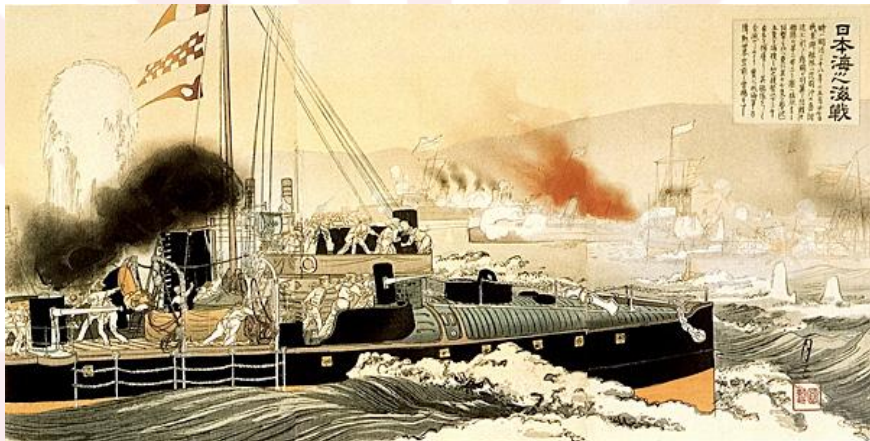
The End in Sight

After Port Arthur, the Japanese had suffered huge losses to their manpower reserves, and were forced once more by the approach of the Baltic Fleet, as well as the effects of the winter and the overall survival of the Russian East Army, to gamble.

This saw the final land battle of the war, Mukden take place. From February 20th till March 10th, the Japanese poured all their last available army forces into Mukden and proceed to envelop the Russians, who panicked and fled, effectively ending any Russian resistance for the rest of the war, as the final blow was about to be delivered to the Russian Empire, not from the IJA, but from the Imperial Japanese Navy.

Tsushima

Many paintings, articles, books, and stories have all been focused upon the Battle of Tsushima, an example of the brilliance of the Japanese navy under Admiral Togo, and so this will not delve in too deeply to the events of that battle, which was described at the time as the most important naval engagement since Trafalgar, and is studied by naval officers to this day.



The Russian Baltic Fleet was weakened by its epic journey of nearly 20,000 miles, with the bottoms of the ships being fouled by sea organisms which affected their speed. As well, the Russians had a variety of types of ships, using telegraphic communication devices that were not configured for their own use, with the Japanese use and maintaining their own equipment.

First contact between the two fleets occurred on the early morning of 27th May, 1905, encountering each other at Tsushima Strait. A fog cloaked the Russian fleet for a time, though the Japanese spotted lights in the distance and moved to investigate. The lights were from a Russian hospital ship, which the Japanese soon discovered and did not fire. From their position near the hospital ship, ten Russian ships were seen through the mist. Quickly using their telegraphs, the Japanese captains informed Togo of the situation, who prepared the fleet for battle.

By the afternoon, the Japanese fleet had lined up to “cross the T” of the Russians, allowing the Japanese to fire broadsides, and the Russians to respond only from turrets. Two options were available to the Russians, either to charge ahead or set up a formal pitched battle. The latter option was chosen, and this is where the individual skill of the Japanese sailor and the regimented training of the IJN came to the fore. Practised veteran sailors launched endless barrages against the Russians, who quickly faced crushing casualties.



The *Borodino's* sinking is depicted in a melodramatic style typical of period illustration.

Subsequent night attacks and an early morning surrounding of the Russian fleet saw the Russians surrender to the victorious Japanese. They had lost all of their battleships, many of their cruisers and destroyers while Japan only lost three torpedo boats.



In this Japanese artist's conception, Russian warships founder while lifeboats bear crewmen away between towering shell splashes

Conclusion

After Tsushima, Russia had to throw in the towel. It gave up Port Arthur, Manchuria, any attempts to influence Korea, and had completely ruined the reputation of many generals and admirals. The negative results for the Russians are almost impossible to exaggerate, with the loss of experienced generals and admirals, the utter destruction of the Pacific and Baltic Fleets, the collapse of the army against a supposedly inferior force. Revolution sparked off as the war had revealed the corruption and bloated pride of the Tsar's administration. Japan's risks had paid off, expanding its empire and building its international prestige. The success of the IJA and IJN influenced Western military theorists, the IJA's determined attacks feeding into the "Cult of the offensive", that repeated full frontal assaults supported by massive artillery bombardments could overcome even the most stubborn defenders, and the success at Tsushima leading to the Western Dreadnought race. Both theories lead to military policy in World War One, and the abject failure of Russia turned its prime ally, Germany, against it. Though ultimately the Russo-Japanese War was an astounding success for the Empire of the Rising Sun, it allowed for the Japanese to gain the most treacherous of all diseases: victory disease. Supremely confident in the strategy and tactics employed and ignoring many of the lessons to be learned from the frontal assaults, the Empire of Japan continued to believe in its invincibility, convinced that the determination of its troops were enough to win what the Empire demanded. These ideals, combined with growing American interests in the region, would lead the Empire of Japan into World War 2.



HANNIBAL GOES TO ROME

Hannibal's Invasion Force: By the Numbers

By markdienekes

When Hannibal left New Carthage during the late Spring of 218 BC, according to Polybius his army amounted to 90,000 infantry, 12,000 cavalry (Polybius, 3.35), while Appian adds 37 elephants to the number. Clearly, the size of his infantry and cavalry are exaggerated, and the true size of Hannibal's invasion force will not be known with certainty, but there are a few considerations – particularly logistical – to take into account when viewing these figures.

First we must discover the reported figures for the size of the Carthaginian army before Hannibal took over – when Hasdrubal the Fair was in charge. According to Diodorus, in retaliation for the betrayal and killing of Hannibal's father, Hamilcar in 225 BC, Hasdrubal moved against the Oretani with an army made up of 50,000 infantry, 6,000 cavalry and 200 elephants (Gabriel, Hannibal, p.72). Four years later, after his assassination and Hannibal took command, that number had increased to 60,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry - in a four year time period (225-221 BC) the number had risen 10,000 and 2000 respectively. It was with this army Hannibal conducted two successful campaigns against the Spanish between 221-218 BC, along with the siege of Saguntum before retiring his troops to winter quarters. If we take Polybius' numbers, we have to believe that Hannibal had just a matter of months to raise 30,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry to make up this number over the course of the winter.

Polybius tells us that Hannibal also left behind a force with his brother, Hasdrubal, made up of 12,650 infantry and 2550 cavalry to guard the Spanish coast. In order to do this Hannibal would have had to make up 42,000 new infantry and 6,550 new cavalry in the winter to be able to raise the force for Hasdrubal and still have 90,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry declared by Polybius in the few months of winter. Gabriel believes new reinforcements could not have come from Carthage. The reported troop transfers were nothing more than swapping Spanish infantry for more reliable African infantry with no real gain of numerical strength. (Gabriel, Hannibal, pp.101-3).



Engels (Alexander the Great, pp.3-18) has estimated that there was one mule per 50 men for transport, and one camp follower for every three soldiers – which would increase the total number of people to 136,000 for Hannibal's march. Per day per man would need 3 pounds of rations. This would make it necessary that a total of 408,000 pounds of rations had to be obtained daily to feed the troops. Add to this the 120,000 pounds of grain needed for the horses per day. Around 2700 pack animals would be needed to carry this amount of food for a day, plus another 2000 or so for equipment and heavy baggage. To feed these pack animals, troops and horses for ten days, one would need 55,520 pack animals:

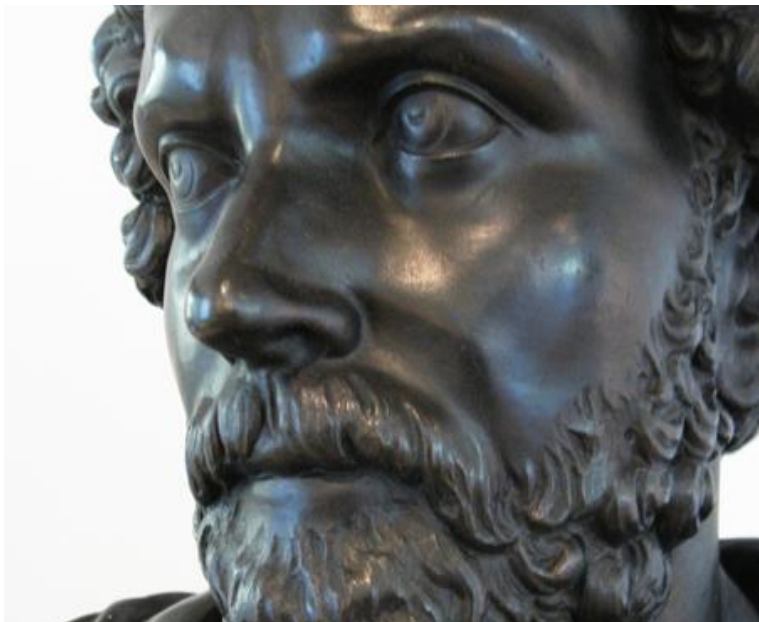


Table I

Daily supply needs for Hannibal's army when consisting of 90,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry.⁶⁰

	Total Number x Wt. of Ration =		Totals
People	136,000 ⁶¹	3 lbs.	408,000
Cavalry Horses	12,000	10 lbs.	120,000
Pack-animals	2,720	10 lbs.	<u>27,200</u>
Total			555,200
Total number of pack-animals needed for:			One day = 2,922
			One week = 29,895
			Ten days = 55,520

(Shean, Hannibal's Mules, p.171 Table 1)



Gabriel has calculated the length of Hannibal's column would have been more than 100 miles long based on American logistical calculations that an infantry brigade comprising 6310 men and 1021 animals occupied a road space of 4.8 miles, (Gabriel, p.103) – a column of Hannibal's length could not make the reported 80 stades (9 miles) a day that Polybius implies was Hannibal's rate of movement (Polyb. 3.50)



What then, were his numbers? We have to take into account of attrition during Hannibal's campaigns in Spain from 221-218 BC – but we have very little to estimate casualty figures. Gabriel assumes that we should look at a 10 percent casualty figure for these campaigns (including Saguntum) which would make the figure of Hannibal's army before he dispersed for winter around 54,000 infantry and 7000 horse. From this we can deduct the force given to Hasdrubal Barca leaving Hannibal's invasion force a much more manageable 40,000 infantry and 5000 cavalry.

With this force he supposedly fought four tribes north of the Ebro river; the Ilurgetes, the Bargasii, the Aerenosii and the Andosini, leaving Hanno in command of a force made up of 10,000 infantry and 1000 cavalry (along with his heavy baggage) to defend the region. The only tribe of significance were the Ilurgetes, and even coming up against token resistance Hannibal could not have marched an army 100,000 strong in the time Polybius and Livy imply Hannibal took to cover the distance from the Ebro to Emporion.



What then, was the purpose of Hanno's force? We have to question its historicity by the actions that followed. Hanno was reportedly more than 150 miles south of the only strategic location in the region; that of the Greek coastal city of Emporion, supposedly fighting rebels. Hanno did not attempt to lay siege to the city that would see Gnaeus Scipio disembark at the head of a Roman army a few months later. Hanno made no attempt to protect the Spanish coast. The answer was his force was unable to conduct offensive operations. It is more likely that Hannibal did not in fact leave such a force behind as it would have achieved nothing of significance in the region, being unable to defend the Spanish coast or capture the strategic Greek city of Emporion (Gabriel, p.105-6). Hannibal only had around 40,000 troops, and could hardly have afforded to leave such a pointless force behind. More likely, his plan was to defend and hold the line at the Ebro River, where Hasdrubal's main force was located, and where there was friendly tribes and well supplied magazines and solid interior lines linking up with New Carthage. Hannibal was well aware that he could not defend the area north of the Ebro sufficiently against Rome's superior numbers of warships and transports.



Naturally, any attempt to discover the true figure is impossible, and the above analysis is flawed due to the nature of reported ancient figures and ancient sources in general - but Gabriel's approach is certainly an interesting and fresh perspective of the numbers - despite the unreliability of the source figure of Diodorus' in regards to the size of Hasdrubal the Fair's army in 225 BC! It's also flawed due to ultimately guess-work on ancient logistics, but it does give a good idea how supplying armies (especially stupidly large ones) would have been far from simple.

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Hitler and Stalin made a pact ...

by avon

Why?

The pact that resulted from Adolf Hitler's offer of a deal to Joseph Stalin in August 1939, more than any other, is one of the most controversial incidents in the history of twentieth-century diplomacy. This pact, more than any other single event, gave Hitler the green-light for war by freeing him from the likelihood of war on two fronts and thus, making his invasion of Poland inevitable. Historically, Stalin's motives for an alliance with Hitler have been, and remain, highly contested. Until 1990, accounts of Soviet-German relations running up to and including the pact were based predominantly on German documents. This helps explain the establishment of a reasonably full account of the German side of the deal. This perspective was then utilised in the formulation of the Soviet side of the



picture. Only with the publication of a new collection of diplomatic documents from the Soviet archives have historians been able to question previous accounts. Since the end of the Cold War, a number of western historians have adopted a view more sympathetic to Stalin and the quandary of the Soviet Union's need for security.

As Stalin noted, the diplomacy that led to the pact was like a poker game with three players. In a sense, he was almost correct for it is essential to understand the actions of Britain and France to see the reasons for Stalin's gravitation to Nazi Germany as a preferred partner. There was, however, another factor in European diplomacy: Japan. The Soviet Union, like Germany, had to concern themselves with the possibility of war on two fronts and, in 1939, this was a very real concern given the war with Japan being raged (albeit localised) throughout the period that the Non-Aggression Pact was being negotiated.





Between March and October 1938, Hitler raised Europe-wide tension over the fate of Czechoslovakia by claiming that the three and a half million Sudeten Germans were being persecuted by the Czech State. As much as Hitler's feigned concern for the Sudeten Germans was useful as a cover for German intervention in, and ultimate absorption of, the Czech State, so too the British and French concern for the peaceable transfer of Sudeten sovereignty to the Reich remained a matter of practice rather than principle. Not having any particular aversion to Hitler's explicit demands of Sudeten self-determination, Britain's primary concern was that the Czech State should not be drawn towards initiating a conflagration that would precipitate wider conflict. Britain's involvement was necessitated by an almost symbiotic attachment to the defence and non-belligerence of France which may have become threatened by treaty obligations to the Czechs. As Baldwin had noted to the House of Commons in July 1935, with the advent of air warfare and strategic bombing: when thinking of the defence of England, you should 'think of the Rhine' as the frontier. Buoyed by this warning, Britain's attachment to France was strategic and real rather than ideological and munificent.

Chamberlain's 'achievement' at Munich was such that the diplomatic tinderbox that Czechoslovakia was, did not ignite and draw the country into an unwanted war at a time of ill-preparation. Consequently, the policy of appeasement became validated as a 'just' policy. The weight of public and

parliamentary opinion rested behind Chamberlain's actions despite opposition that was diverse, ineffective and lacking any common objection. The main negative consequence of the 'achievement' was that Chamberlain had enthusiastically adopted the role of peacemaker that the European public readily accepted. In this capacity, it would have been somewhat perverse had 'the dove of peace' suddenly embarked upon a campaign of energetic and open rearmament; Chamberlain was thus constrained by his own propagandised image. This should not detract from the fact that British rearmament was increased from October 1938.

The means by which this article shall attempt to meet its ends will consist of analysis of two key areas. Hitler's foreign policy and its development and then the foreign policy of the Soviet Union as she attempted find security through alignment with Nazi Germany. Sitting astride these two key areas the foreign policy initiatives of the other powers will be given mention as necessary. The conclusion to be arrived at will show that Stalin's arrival at a pact with Hitler, theoretically his ideological antipode, was the result of a pragmatic assessment of each of the other poker-players. Having attempted to keep his opportunities open, he opted for alignment with Nazi Germany as the best means of avoiding war. Just how long Stalin thought he could sustain this situation is another matter.

.....

The Munich Agreement cheated Hitler out of his war to 'smash Czechoslovakia', planned without compunction, since May 1938, but allowed him the opportunity to draw four significant conclusions. Firstly, Czechoslovakia would be treated vindictively. Having conceded to the demands that Henlein had assured Hitler 'could never be satisfied', the Czechs were deemed primarily responsible for escaping the fate in store for them. Secondly, the German public had responded with jubilation at the news that war had been averted. In Hitler's mind, this displayed the need for further psychological preparation for when his war did come. Thirdly, having been encouraged by Mussolini into conciliatory negotiation with Britain and France and thus denied the initiative, Hitler determined never again to be swayed from his intended course of action once that course had been definitively planned. This persuasion, although successful at the eleventh hour, had been attempted by numerous figures within the Nazi Party and high-ranking military officials. Like the German public, there were some figures in these hierarchies not entirely enthused by the idea of war. Fourthly, and most importantly for the present purposes, Hitler realised that it would be essential to secure his eastern border so as to be in a position to face Britain and France whom he now recognised as the principal potential enemies.

Hitler's earlier wistful plans for co-operation with Britain – that Britain would somehow agree to concentrate on her overseas empire whilst allowing Germany to gain hegemony over Europe – had dissipated in the mid-1930s. The May Crisis and Munich had confirmed to Hitler that Britain was not about to turn



a blind eye to any changes in the status quo. However, British resolve to maintain the status quo was not, in Hitler's eyes, reflected in the characters of Chamberlain or Halifax (who had failed to impress Hitler when they met in November 1937) and so he held on to the belief that they would avoid a fight if at all possible. Yet, there remained the inevitability that they would have to be dealt with in the future. Hitler estimated that British rearmament efforts would disallow her participation in a major war until 1942 at the earliest. However, by 1943, Germany's relative strength vis-à-vis Britain would have declined. The 'Hoßbach Memorandum' of 1937 had recognised this. Despite the fact that naval rearmament agreed under the Anglo-German Naval Agreement of 1935 would not be completed until 1942, Hitler ordered, in early 1937, the construction of another six large battleships to be completed by 1944 in clear contravention of the 1935 agreement. The change in Hitler's thinking is manifestly recognisable in his revised naval rearmament policy. In January 1939, plans for naval rearmament were then given absolute priority over all other considerations. This led Donald Watt to convincingly profess that naval rearmament was the 'yardstick' by which Germany's attitude to Britain could be measured. The belated change to the naval programme reflected the changing role that Britain was expected to play. In November 1938, Hitler authorised the Wehrmacht to begin discussions with Italy for '[w]ar by Germany and Italy against France and Britain, with the object first of knocking out France.' To remove France from such a war would deny Britain any strategic foothold on the Continent from which to continue a large-scale war.





Ribbentrop with Hitler

Recognition of Britain as the principal enemy led to the increased influence of Joachim von Ribbentrop (Ambassador to London since October 1936) who had been preaching this line since early 1938. After Munich, Ribbentrop set about attempting to finalise the Anti-Comintern Pact with Italy and Japan as the 'active' partners and transform it into a tripartite military alliance that, whilst outwardly a challenge to the Soviet Union, was a direct challenge to Britain and France. He was unsuccessful in this respect as neither Japan nor Italy were prepared to take this step. The Italians, and particularly Ciano (Foreign Minister), with a measure of distaste, saw Ribbentrop as being particularly enthusiastic for war with Britain. Mussolini was less enthused; approving the alliance in principle, he was not prepared to commit himself fully to the Germans with a written alliance until he had secured ratification of the Easter Agreement of 1938 with the British.

However, with deteriorating Franco-Italian relations, and after the annexation of Albania in April had been opposed by both western nations, an increasingly isolated Mussolini came round to the idea during late December. The Japanese, likewise, were unenthusiastic at the prospect of being forced into engaging the British; instead, they aimed to limit the focus of any agreement to being anti-Soviet. The Japanese Government were inhibited by divided opinion and spent several months discussing the proposals. As such, Ribbentrop's planned tripartite alliance was inoperable; the Japanese were only interested in the Soviet Union at the time when Germany and Italy were focussed on the western powers and at a time when Germany was attempting to attract the Soviets to closer relations. Ribbentrop settled for the next best thing. In January, Mussolini agreed to a bilateral alliance that, whilst being a full military alliance, had a proviso stipulating full consultation between the powers and that there would be no war for at least three years. This was the ominous-sounding 'Pact of Steel'

that was concluded in May 1939. The Italian informed the German quite candidly that Italy could not go to war until 1942; he was reassured when Ribbentrop claimed that Germany required a period of peace, but not too concerned when it was stipulated that Germany needed to acquire Danzig and a highway across the Corridor soon. Many historians give mention to Ribbentrop's deceit in dealing with Ciano. The fact that Ciano himself felt 'betrayed' in August on finding out that the Germans were prepared to fight over Poland may have given rise to this. But Ribbentrop and his master both believed that Britain and France would remain passive and the Polish jewels could be taken without war so German duplicity was not necessarily a factor in the Pact. Although the pact with Italy did reinforce Germany's southern flank (or at least gave that appearance) the most significant aspect of these proceedings was that the absence of robust assistance pledged from Italy and the intransigence of the Japanese ensured that a pact with the Soviet Union was all the more necessary.



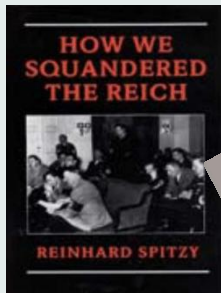
Ribbentrop's ascendancy is of the greatest importance. It undermined much of the 'polycratic' and 'concept pluralist' influences on Hitler's foreign policy decision making. Ribbentrop's success with Hitler, despite an almost universal hatred of the man, was described by Reinhard Spitzzy (a member of Ribbentrop's SS staff). Hitler one day described Ribbentrop as 'always so radical', which appealed to Hitler. Ribbentrop understood that Hitler was always sympathetic to the most radical solution and so always proposed a more radical idea than anyone else. There is, consequently, a direct corollary between the timing of Ribbentrop's ascendancy to the Foreign Ministry in 1938 and the radicalisation of Hitler's manipulative approach to foreign affairs after Munich. As Donald Watt notes, prior to Munich, Hitler awaited the best opportunity to activate his plans; in the post-Munich world, his intuitive opportunism was encumbered by the actions of others. He was thus forced to manipulate multilateral events as a means creating opportunities. Ribbentrop's influence, though at times inept, was central to the coming of war and the Pact with Stalin.

Czechoslovakia was to be swallowed before Poland. A directive 21 October 1938 spelled out a military solution to the perplexing continued existence of the now enfeebled

rump-Czechoslovakia. It planned for German homeland defence, the 'liquidation of the Czech State' and also the recovery of Memelland. The directive, given its largely violent tone, was a reflection of Hitler's post-Munich umbrage. But pragmatism soon overcame this swingeing mood when, on 17 December, a stipulation was appended that action against the Czech State should appear to be peaceful and not 'warlike' as a means of undermining the Anglo-French given Czechoslovakia in September. The pacifist element of German opinion also came under attack. On 10 November, in a 'secret speech' to four hundred pressmen (not necessarily an absurdity in Nazi Germany), Hitler professed his aggressive ambitions and the central role in the psychological rearmament that propaganda would necessarily play in the preparation of these aims. A non-warlike solution was presented to Hitler by Slovakian separatists. Whilst the Slovaks were willing to rail against the Czech State, its willingness to do so was accelerated by German threats of Hungarian annexation. With the integrity of the Czech State undermined, the Czech President Emil Hácha was brought to Berlin and bullied into 'inviting' German intervention. On 14 March, the German army was able to enter Prague without resorting to war. Memel was restored to the Reich on 22 March.



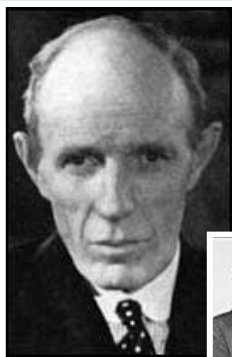
Reinhard Spitzzy



Czech President
Emil Hácha

Hitler had already turned his attention to Poland. The German Government, again through the seemingly omnipresent Ribbentrop, began to apply pressure to persuade the Poles, firstly to allow the construction of an extra-territorial road and railway across the 'Polish Corridor' to connect with East Prussia and, secondly, for the return of Danzig. Where the Poles were willing to acquiesce to the former, they were most assuredly unwilling in the case of the latter. Danzig was not the central issue of the demand, Hitler informed his generals on 23 May 1939, it was 'a matter of expanding our living space in the east and making food supplies secure.' Expounding the importance of Lebensraum (lit. living-space), Poland had to be attacked 'at the first suitable opportunity.' In January, Hitler met with the Polish Foreign Minister, Colonel Józef Beck, and presented him with the German demands. But with the absorption of rump-Czechia in March along with the repossession of Memelland, the Polish position became increasingly difficult. The extent to which a British guarantee of Polish 'independence' reinforced Polish resolve against the German demands remains controversial, certainly the

British were henceforth committed to the wishes of the Polish regardless of the wishes of the (overwhelmingly Nazi) Danzigers. The Polish, after Munich, had been contingency planning for war with Germany and made sure that their intentions were heard in Berlin. Military plans were created in a corollary state of panic that saw the Poles attempting to repair estranged diplomatic relations with Britain, France and Italy at the very same time that France was attempting to divest itself of Eastern European commitments. During 1938-1939, Beck travelled to all three countries where he was treated with generally little regard. But the Polish representations of military prowess were not effective in Germany; Hitler's greatest fear in the matter was 'that some "Schweinehund", some SOB would come along at the last minute with a compromise to avoid war' rather than the efficacy of Polish defences. By absorbing Czechoslovakia, the German war-machine was the beneficiary of an advanced and well-equipped munitions industry as well as significant quantities of armaments and Czech industry help momentarily revive a struggling Four-year Plan.



Colonel Józef Beck



The absorption of the Czech State thus helped isolate Poland as per Hitler's perception of the task.



To further isolate the Poles and thus avoid repeating the grave strategic error of 1914, two possible strategies were tried. Göring attempted, without urgency, the less attractive strategy of neutralising British intervention. He set about explaining the rationality of the German demands to Neville Henderson (British Ambassador in Berlin) with a sympathetic understanding of the British position. Despite the last minute attempts by the dubiously qualified Swede, Birger Dahlerus, to bring about some form of Munich-styled compromise at the eleventh-hour, the British resolve to stand firm over Poland was not lost on Hitler. On 25 August, the Anglo-Polish Pact was signed; on 28 August, Hitler told Henderson that he knew the West not to be bluffing. By this point, however, it did not matter for Ribbentrop, having been appointed the second strategy, had been more successful. The signing of the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact on 24 August nullified the threat of war on two fronts. The war against Poland would be localised and completed before the Nazis had to turn to the west.



Molotov signs the German–Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, 23 August 1939, Moscow.
Standing behind Molotov: Stalin, Ribbentrop, Shaposhnikov



After the disintegration of German-Soviet relations in the wake of the Nazis 'seizure of power' in January 1933, diplomatic relations between the two powers had struggled to remain practicable. Attempts to restore relations – most questionably through David Kandelaki (Soviet commercial attaché to Berlin) – were not, as some historians have suggested, preliminaries to the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939. Instead, these rather modest attempts to normalise relations ran alongside the more generally overt and consistent policy of the search for an anti-German form of collective security. From 1934, the major concern of the Narkomindel (Foreign Commissariat) was the prevention of the spread of fascism in Europe. The Soviet Union's worst fear was that they alone would have to face a strong Germany at some point in the future.

Soviet observations of the western powers' appeasement from the middle of the 1930s did nothing to allay this fear. The general turn of tide in the appeasement of Germany after Hitler's entry into Prague bore little consequence with the Soviet dictator. Suspicions of the Western Powers' motives at Munich where, Izvestiya noted, 'the first time we know of that the seizure of someone else's territory ... is nothing less than a "triumph" or "victory" for peace.' The threat of western rapprochement with the 'Axis' would have isolated the Soviet Union, a particularly worrying fact given that the Soviets, like the British, had to balance the risk of war in Europe with the risk of war in the Far East. In these circumstances, and bearing in mind that Poland sat between Germany and the Soviet Union as an obstacle, the main adherent of a firm anti-German stance, Maxim Litvinov, found himself faced with firm opposition for his policy of collective security to contain German aggression.



Not all Bolsheviks could distinguish between the ‘aggressor states’ and the democracies as clearly as Litvinov could. Vyacheslav Molotov’s (Prime Minister) position was improved slightly in 1935 by his insistence that an improvement in Russo-German relations would be beneficial. His position was then fortified by Andrei Zhdanov’s description of the Spanish Civil War as a prelude to ‘the definitive and decisive clash of the world of communism and the world of capitalism.’ The logical conclusion of Zhdanov and Molotov’s thinking saw Nazi Germany as a capitalist power. The likelihood that the capitalists would ultimately find ideological affinity and act aggressively towards the Soviet Union was seen as inevitable. Western intervention in the Russian Civil War (1917-1921), the arena in which many of the Bolshevik hierarchy carved out their names, became ‘the archetype of an undifferentiated, outside world.’ Yet, ideological isolation alone does not fully explain the diplomatic isolation felt by the Soviets during the 1920s and 1930s.



Molotov



Georgi Dimitrov



Zhdanov

In September 1939, Stalin whittled down the international situation to its bare bones for the benefit for Molotov, Zhdanov and Georgi Dimitrov. He stated that ‘[a] war is on between two groups of capitalist countries – (poor and rich as regards colonies, raw materials, and so forth) – for the re-division of the world, for the domination of the world! ... We see nothing wrong in their having a good hard fight and weakening each other.’ Acknowledging the fact that the Non-Aggression Pact was to some extent assisting the Nazis, Stalin did not elicit any strong feeling for either side. ‘Next time, we’ll urge on the other side.’ In fact, Stalin signalled that he would have preferred to have made a deal with the western powers, ‘[b]ut the English like the French wanted us for farmhands and at no cost.’ In his assessment of the situation, Stalin was not too far from the truth. The British were fervently anti-Communist and had been since 1917. Chamberlain in particular, was stringently so. During the Spanish Civil War he complained to his sister that the ‘Bolshies’ were ‘the limit – all the time trying

to make mischief. But we have got some damning evidence [of intervention] against them.’ Two years later, his opinion had not improved. They were ‘stealthy and cunning pulling all the strings behind the scenes to get us involved in war with Germany’; surely a display of paranoia similar in scope to that of Stalin’s by any account. Despite these antipathies towards the Soviet Union, the British, even as early as 1935, were unwilling to foster any form of rapprochement with the Soviets for fear that it would jeopardise Anglo-German relations. The value of rapprochement was also undermined by the image of the purges that took place from 1936 to 1938 that appeared routinely in the British press. Despite historical opinion remaining divided as to the causes and effects of the purges, they were seen as a significant weakening of the Red Army, and watched with interest in Berlin as well as in London. The reason for the failure of the Anglo-Franco-Soviet negotiations after May 1939 was not due to the weakening effect of the purges; they failed for political reasons.



The difficulty with interpreting Soviet policy is that if Stalin did want an agreement with London and Paris right up until the middle of August, then Soviet policy was irrational. 'Information coming from Soviet embassies was often based more on views prevalent in sympathetic opposition circles than on what government policy actually was.' Thus Stalin's expectation of Anglo-French policy in terms of an attempt to direct German expansionism eastwards was not based on good intelligence. Stalin perceived British and French leaders as 'being incomparably motivated by anti-Bolshevism [which] was completely off-beam.' Furthermore, Britain and France, after sending a figure that the Soviets viewed with humour, without the least appearance of haste or importance, were, as Stalin saw it, expecting him to commit to war without any reasonable return. By comparison, when Ribbentrop arrived, Stalin was able to extract a significant amount of territory that greatly suited his security designs. The territories demanded of Ribbentrop were similar in scope to those, it was later claimed, were necessary for Soviet security.



Yet, there is substantial room for the suspicion that Stalin did not keep all his chestnuts in one basket. The machinations of Molotov and Zhdanov would not have occurred without Stalin's sanction. Likewise, the 'infamous encounter' of Merekalov and Weizsäcker of 17 April would not have occurred had it not been in line with Stalin's intentions. Given that Germany had spurned numerous Soviet approaches throughout the 1930s, Merekalov's subtlety is understandable. Having dispensed with the almost unimportant discussion concerning the fulfilment of orders from the now German controlled Skoda factory in Czechoslovakia, Merekalov took the opportunity to close the discussion by signalling Soviet intentions not to exploit tension between Germany and the Western nations. He added (in Weizsäcker's words): 'There exists for Russia no reason why she should not live with us on a normal footing. And from normal, relations might become better and better.' Although the 'encounter' was not followed up as the Soviets might have wished, it did signal to the Nazis the plausibility of drawing the Soviets into their sphere. Hitler's response came in his address to the Reichstag (less than a fortnight later) on 28 April in a speech devoid of any anti-Soviet outburst. Compared with the British Government's continued vacillation towards the Soviet Union (a message to this effect was received on 3 May), the German's at this point looked the more promising and serious partner.



Stalin took decisive action in removing all Jews from the Narkomindel. Litvinov was the prime target, being replaced by pro-German ('Iron-Arse') Molotov; he remained 'amongst the living only by chance'. Not only was Litvinov the main proponent of collective security, he was its public face; his removal was, at once, both necessary for diplomatic manoeuvrability as well as symbolic. The Germans were pleased not to be forced into negotiation with a Jew and the Western Powers were shaken into action. But the actions of Poland inhibited the western approaches and thus helped sway Stalin towards Hitler. On 17 April (the same day that Merekalov met with Weizsäcker), the Soviets offered to sign an alliance with the Western Powers that would guarantee the integrity of all Eastern European states 'between the Black Sea and the Baltic.' Despite Britain's continued distrust of Stalin, Poland refused to sign any agreement that included the Soviets. They refused on two counts. Primarily, of their two powerful neighbours they held more contempt for the Soviet Union than for Nazi Germany. Secondly, there was the fear that any attempt to ally themselves with the 'Russian bear' would provoke Germany yet further. Despite strong pressure from Britain and France throughout the summer, the Poles remained intransigent. When Drax opened negotiations with Klim Voroshilov the issue proved incisive from the beginning.



An idealized painting depicting Soviet Leader Joseph Stalin and Marshal Klim Voroshilov in the Kremlin, Moscow, 1938

If Polish-Soviet relations played an important role in the formation of the Nazi-Soviet Pact, then Soviet relations with Japan played a more decisive role. In May, Japanese forces occupied Mongolian territory on the Soviet border and began planning further aggressive action. Members of the Kwantung Army reasoned that the Soviets would be altogether unwilling to become involved in a major battle whilst pre-occupied by events in Europe. After crossing the border in July, the Japanese were engaged by the Soviets until September. Whilst the fighting in the East did not evolve into a major war, and the Japanese were ultimately repulsed (possibly having lost heart after the German rapprochement with the Soviets), it remained pertinent to Stalin's thinking. By siding with the Nazis, Stalin was able to stiffen his eastern flank by avoiding war, for the time being, in the west.



The reasons why the development of Hitler's aggressive ambitions after the Munich agreement compelled him to offer a deal to Stalin and why Stalin responded positively can be summarised briefly. On the most superficial level, the three 'poker players' each faced the potential of war on two fronts. Despite questions having been raised about a Soviet pre-emptive strike against Germany, only Germany was in control of events. Hitler's aggressive ambitions against Poland created the need for defensive security pacts such as were unattractive to all three major players. Mutual distrust was balanced by security requirements and the need to avoid major conflict – especially if that was to occur on two fronts. When Chamberlain referred to the Pact as 'Russian treachery', he astutely noticed a miscalculation in Hitler's scheme. Whilst being 'certain' that Italy would not join Hitler in a war over Poland, Chamberlain noted that Japan's shock at the Pact meant that Britain 'may find [her] anxieties ... greatly relieved if not removed.' For the next two years, he was correct. Japan's eventual entry into the war would, with a degree of uncertainty at first, bring the means of defeating Germany on the western front: the United States.

On a less superficial level, Hitler's 'defeat' at Munich clearly radicalised his foreign policy. This radicalisation, exemplified most easily by Ribbentrop's ascendancy, also had devastating domestic implications. The 'Aryanisation' of the German economy, initiated on 14 October 1938 by Göring (and ably supported by Joseph Goebbels), manifested itself in the 'spontaneous' spoliation of Jewish property and violent attacks on Jewish people – now known by the ridiculous euphemism: Kristallnacht (Crystal-night or Night of the Broken Glass) – which reached its peak on 9 and 10 November. Ironically, this radicalisation resulted in 'the systematic, bureaucratic process preferred by Goring and Himmler' that would ultimately lead to the extermination of millions of Europe's Jews. In their determination to have war, and within this freshly radicalised atmosphere, the Nazi hierarchy did not balk at openly consorting with the hated Bolsheviks. And thus, a deal was offered. It is more chilling that it was accepted through cold and steely calculation.



Sokolov is a city in Bohemia. When the city was part of the Hapsburg Empire prior to 1918, it was called Falkenau a.d.Eger in German. The earliest known Jewish community dates from the mid-19th century. The synagogue was built in 1897. The Jewish population in 1930 was about 170. Most of the Jews left after the signing of the Munich Agreement in September, 1938. The rest were deported in 1942. The synagogue was destroyed by the Nazis. The postcard below, which dates before 1918, depicts the synagogue in Falkenau.



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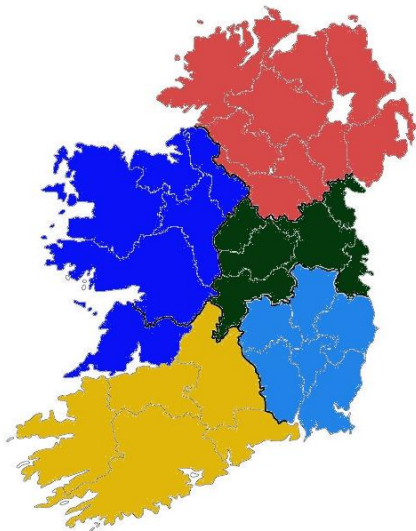
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This legend concerned an ancient partition of Ireland, and the High King who fought to end it. It has become clear to historians in their study of Ancient Ireland that as the High Kingship started to become a permanent feature of the Irish polity in the late fifth century, the southernmost province, Munster, resented this influence. This legend may be entirely fictional, or possibly based largely on fact. More likely it concerns some historical leaders, whose lives and reigns have been blown out of all proportion by later politics. Conn Céd-Cathach (Conn of the Hundred Battles) lived in the third century AD, according to Irish historical tradition. By the seventh, eighth, and even ninth century when these legends were first being written down, Munster was imagining itself to be an authority to rival the Uí Néill High Kingship of Ireland. The Uí Néill were the descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and ruled Ireland from ~500 AD to 1002 AD. Cheekily, Munster annals even try to claim one or two of their own provincial Kings as High Kings, saying that the Uí Néill submitted to them at Royal councils. This is utterly unattested and plainly false. Nevertheless, certain Uí Néill High Kings were threatened by the claims, and launched devastating raids into Munster. While force made it impossible for Munster to ignore the High Kingship of Ireland, they nevertheless refused to acknowledge the Uí Néill claims to be the only rightful rulers of Ireland. When the Uí Néill dynasty came to the end of its unbroken reign in 1002 AD, it would be a Munster man, Brian Boru, who ended it.

The Legend of High King Conn Céd-Chathach and the 7th Partition of Ireland



Traditional "Fifths" of Ireland - Ulster (Red), Connacht (Dark Blue), Meath (Green), Leinster (Light Blue) and Munster (yellow)

This legend shows the strength of political opposition to Leth Cuinn (Conn's half) from Munster, or Leth Moga (Eogan's half), as they imagined themselves to be. It is not representative of later politics, except in its revelation of sentiment. Munster did not at any point control Leinster, which made up part of the imagined Leth Moga, unless they did so in the time of this legend. The Northern Uí Néill and the Southern Uí Néill



The Uí Néill directly controlled the traditional province of Meath, as well as Airgialla and the parts of Ulster labelled "Northern Uí Néill". The Osraige were Munster for the majority of history, but defected to Leinster in the 900's. The sub-province labelled Breíne was owned by Connacht.

often had disagreements over succession, so Conn's half was not quite the homogenous block the legend makes out. Connacht was generally loyal to the Uí Néill, but not exclusively so. Indeed, that might be expected: we are talking about a period of 500 years. Munster fell apart in the latter part of this period. By the end of Uí Néill dominance, Munster no longer functioned as a political entity. This had happened to Ulster during the reign of Niall of the Nine Hostages - the old capital was abandoned, and the province split up into two kingdoms directly run by the Uí Néill, and the former chieftains of the province reduced their control to what are today's Antrim and Down counties. Munster broke into two rival kingdoms, Thomand and Ormonde. Thus we see that Black and White of the legend were obviously more complex than the legend made out.

Conn made no foreign campaigns, and his military career may seem unspectacular at first glance. However, internal dissent meant he was as much a warlord as any ancient ruler could claim to be. His main fight was against Eóghan Mór, King of Munster, culminating in the battle of Magh Leana, but before that, he earned his impressive title from his many fights with the provincial Kings. Keating tells us that the poets explained the name in the following way: *"100 fights in Mumha wide Conn Kéd-Cathach the Just had fought, 1000 'gainst the Ulta brave, And 60 Fights against Laighin's Sons"* It is also said that he mounted the ramparts of Tara daily, to ensure groups e.g. the Formorians, an ancient mythological race, would be unable to usurp authority. Early in his reign as High King, he only had authority over half of Ireland, from Tara north, and west to Galway. In effect, this was because of a series of ten pitched battles he lost in a row to his Nemesis, Eóghan Mór, who challenged his rule in Munster. The value of the High Kingship was reduced so low that Conn had to recognise that he was no longer King in the South. The Southern part of Ireland was under the authority of Eóghan Mór, and the country was divided across in half, popularly referred to as Conn's half and Eóghan's half. In the old Irish, that was Leth Cuinn, and Leth Moga, as we have seen.

Though he had been the son of the High King, Irish law forbade him directly succeeding his father, Feidhlimidh Rechtmhar and power had not come directly to him. Instead, the King of Leinster had taken the throne, and Conn was forced to fight him and kill him in battle in order to claim his inheritance. At this time, a major military figure named Cumhall played an important role in matters of state. He was the leader of Fianna Éireann, The National Militia. Unfortunately for him, he had fled to Scotland prior to Conn's ascension fearing retribution for marrying a noble girl without the consent of her father. Incidentally, the famous Fionn Mac Cumhail would be the result of this marriage. Conn had appointed one of his advisors as King of Leinster, known as Crimthann. Cumhall believed his own claims to the province were superior, and he returned to Ireland and claimed the Kingship of Leinster, deposing Crimthann. Conn perceived this as a threat to the High Kingship, and an attempt to undermine his authority. He sent for assistance to the province of Connacht, also to a petty Kingdom in Roscommon, and to the militia body of Connacht, a branch of the Fenians who he promised leadership of the Meath Fenians to in return for assistance. Cumhall had not been idle though. He had mustered all his friends and adherents, and secured a valuable alliance with Munster who sent a large army to him.

Conn was dissatisfied with Kingship over half the nation, and resolved to seize the other half as soon as he could. He managed to defeat Eóghan Mór at the battle of Cloch Barraighe, but tradition holds that Eoghan was rescued against his wishes by his fairy mistress, after making every effort possible to find death on the field. In Reality, he most likely fled when the tide turned, deciding to fight another day. After all, he had defeated Conn on numerous occasions past; there seemed no reason to accept defeat after a single battle. His losses must have been very high, however, as he fled to Spain, hoping to raise another army there. The "King of Spain" received him generously, and gave over the west of Spain to Eoghan's people, while retaining Eoghan himself personally. Eoghan even courted the Daughter of the "King of Spain", in keeping with his wishes. He had three Children by her. Nine years on from original exile, and Eoghan decided that he wanted to return to Ireland, and reclaim his Kingdom. It is also possible that he overstayed his welcome, and if he was to be treated like a King, he would have to become one. Eoghan returned to Ireland with 2000 Spanish soldiers, and one of the King's sons, but who exactly this King was is hard to fathom, as Spain was under the control of the Roman Empire at the time. Seeing as "Ríg" or King was a generic title for leader, this may refer to the Roman Governor of the province. However, our timeline is inexact. The Soldiers provided may have been Iberian auxiliaries, or possibly Roman regular troops.



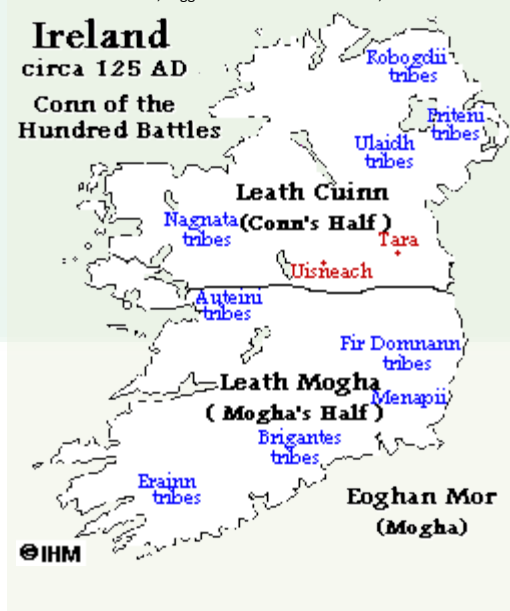
While it is more likely that it was an Iberian contingent, it is not implausible to see Romans aiding a pro-Roman King, either themselves or through one of their puppet Kings. This would explain in part the positive nature of the accounts of his stay in Spain; if he was to be a Roman ally upon ascension. It also casts Conn of the Hundred Battles in a wholly different light, as protector of Irish sovereignty against a foreign backed invasion. By the time of many of our accounts however, Irish historical tradition had forgotten that the Romans had ruled in Spain. The reference to the King of Spain is probably a hopelessly garbled understanding of the original account, and some have speculated that Eóghan went elsewhere than Spain. Editors of Keating, Irish historian of the 17th Century claim that Eóghan stayed with a minor Iberian Chieftain, and his aid was some of his own soldiers. Eugene O' Curry tells us that there is every reason to believe that Eóghan wedded a Spanish princess, and that it is mentioned in all our historical books. The modern interpretations would be more cynical, however.

At the end of his stay with his friendly neighbours, Eóghan gathered his forces for an invasion of Ireland. We are told that he had 27, 000 Irish Soldiers, 2,000 Spanish or Roman Auxiliaries, and 1,000 other foreign auxiliaries. We are also told that his forces were noticeably superior to those of Conn of the Hundred Battles. While the number of his troops is probably an exaggeration, they were probably greater than Conn's, to judge by his inaction. When Eóghan returned, the nobles of Munster and Leinster rallied to his cause, further bolstering his ranks. Conn was able to maintain the

loyalty of the nobility of Meath, along with his old ally the King of Connacht, Conall. Though Conall had advised "We shall act in this difficulty in the same manner we act in every other difficulty, namely, drive them out by the right of battle and combat", and Conn was driven to chew on a stick in rage by the return of his nemesis, a weak peace was brokered between them, based on the old partition of Ireland. Eventually, it would come to war, despite the peace deal. The Spaniards who Eóghan had brought home with him grew restless, on account of their retention in Eóghan's court at a time of peace. They pushed for open hostility between the nominal High King and the potential High King. From that time on, Eóghan sought to break the treaty he had with Conn. He found reason to do this in the port of Dublin. Though the port was split equally between Conn and Eóghan, more ships landed in Conn's half, and he was materially richer as a result. Eóghan sent envoys seeking an equal share of goods as well as land between the two. Conn replied that he could not apply the same law to goods as he had to land, and Eóghan had his cause for war. He gathered his forces at Brugh Righ, Limerick and moved towards the boarder. At length, he came to a valley. He inquired of his advisors what the name of the place was. "Magh Leana", they replied.



Division of Ireland, suggested date: 125 AD - 127 AD, 136 AD - 137 AD.



The King of Ulster had rebelled against Conn when he heard that Eóghan had come up as far as Magh Leana (near Uisneach) with the intention of seizing power. He raided Meath, and as far south as Tara itself he burned and pillaged the countryside, before retreating back to Ulster. Conn was in Connacht at the time. It was at this point that Conn showed his worth as High King of Ireland. Leinster, Munster and Ulster were all in revolt against him. He retained only his own people in Meath, and loyal Connacht with which to fight. He quickly launched a punitive expedition into Ulster, thinking it prudent to revenge himself on those who had betrayed him. Tradition holds that he gave a speech to his men, in which he lamented the partition of Ireland, saying it had never sat right with him, and prepared them for the coming fight against Eóghan, and Ulster. He moved his forces north into Ulster without delay, and came upon their armies feasting on the spoils of their raids. The King of Ireland was enraged, and attacked immediately. He himself became

embroiled in the battle in Gaelic tradition, and clashed personally with the King of Ulster. It is said that the two wounded each other before other soldiers came between them and continued the fight. Again Conn sought out the King of Ulster, and again he found him. This time Conn launched his spear at him, breaking through his shield and embedding itself in his side. The King of Ulster was killed where he stood, and Conn's men quickly decapitated him, and finished the battle.

Conn turned now towards Magh Leana, spurred on by his ally Conall. Conall advised attack without delay whether victory or defeat seemed more likely. But Conn was inclined to offer Eóghan considerable terms (namely Munster, Leinster, and Ulster) so that there might be peace again between them.

Why he wished to offer terms again to Eóghan is explained by his weakness in military terms, which he had recognised. However, there can be little doubt that Conall would have seen this as cowardice from the monarch of Ireland, sacrificing his birth-right for a quiet life. Eóghan was not pleased by the offer, and had the messengers executed for not defecting to him. Conn fell into a melancholic rage when he heard of the action of his nemesis, and Conall took the opportunity to force the attack on Eóghan.

Conn acquiesced this time, and the armies of the High King marched to Magh Leana.

When it came to the day of battle, Conn recognised that his forces were considerably weaker, and decided to make a night attack on Eóghan's encampment at Magh Leana. One of his chiefs, Goll, raised objections however, on the grounds that he had sworn an oath never to attack an enemy at night, or otherwise attack using surprise. He and his men were left behind as Conn decided to attack anyway. The forces of the High King attacked the Spaniards first, who were separated from the others by some distance. The Spanish were quickly slaughtered, including Fraoch, the prince who had agitated for conflict with Conn. Then the main bodies of the two opposing forces met in battle together. The account of the battle describes it as "incalculable slaughter", and recounts the various wounds and actions taken by each army on the other. Eóghan's forces were gaining the upper hand, on account of their numerical advantage, and Eóghan was looking for Conn to face him in one-on-one combat. However, the sun had now risen, and Conn called on Goll and his forces to come and re-enforce the waning army of the High King. That they did, and Goll took the challenge of facing Eóghan Mór. He fought him for a long time, and so fierce was their fight that other champions gathered around Eóghan trying to kill him. Eóghan fended off all attacks for a long while, but at length he was defeated by a multitude of small wounds inflicted on him. He was killed by Goll, who died himself of his wounds. The rest of Eóghan's army broke in confusion and fear, and Conn Céd-Cathach, Conn of the Hundred Battles, became the undisputed High King of Ireland for the first time since Eóghan returned. He also named his successor, and supposedly granted Kingship of Munster to those who had opposed him, and referred to his successor as the future King of Érenn and Alba. This may indicate some Irish influence in Scotland at the time, but is more likely an anachronism caused by the delay in recording the history. Conn reigned 20 further years without challenge, before he was assassinated by the cowardly scheme of the King of Ulster, on the hill of Tara. According to mythology, he ended the seventh partition of Ireland, but excepting the division of government by Túathal Techtmar, he probably put an end to the first partition of Ireland, insofar as there were two opposing forces claiming sovereignty. That assumes however, that we give the legend the benefit of the doubt on its basis in history. If the list of Kings starting with Túathal Techtmar is given credence, Conn was the fifth High King of Ireland.

This legend shaped the Munster perception of themselves and of Ireland. If anciently they had resented the ancestor of the Uí Néill, then it followed that they should not accept his descendants. It might appear to be mere propaganda at face value, and indeed, certain elements of it are no more than stories to cheer the halls of Kings long dead recalling imagined ancient glory. However, it is an important revelation on the early Uí Néill High Kingship. Evidently this new order faced difficulty subduing the provinces, and while we read of numerous fights with Leinster, Munster was equally unruly in the early period. The Uí Néill would eventually overcome the difficulties, thanks to brave High Kings I hope to detail someday, but there is one other important revelation in the legend. It was seen as no bad thing for a provincial King to seek aid abroad in a fight with the High King. And that perception would have profound consequences...

[1] First map is my own creation

[2] Second Map is taken from Wikipedia with applicable licences

[3] Third Map is taken from the [Early Irish History and Saga website](#) maintained by Denis Walsh, with applicable licences.



Bibliographical note :

There were a number of sources used writing this piece, and it is partly taken from a larger project of my own, as yet unpublished. Some of the works used in writing this are available at the Internet Archive, for links please ask. The following are in no particular order.

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During the twentieth century,

Black Death

historiography believed that. . .

Cohn's thesis

An essential challenge to the relationship between the medieval and modern plagues

by Lucas McMahon

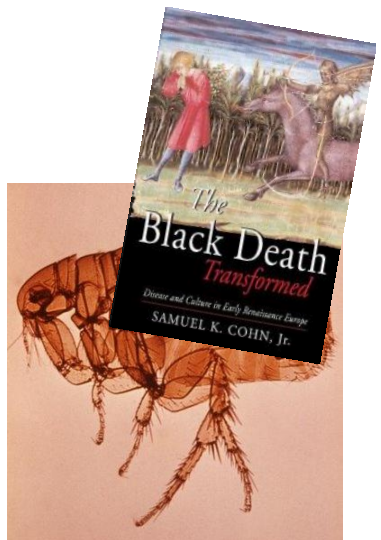


During the twentieth century, Black Death historiography believed that the medieval plague was the same as the modern plague studied in India and Southeast Asia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Samuel K. Cohn Jr.'s 2002 monograph *The Black Death Transformed* presented a serious challenge to these ideas. He proposed that differences in the role of the rat, the location and number of the buboes, the seasonality of the plague, and immunity gained by survivors is evidence that the medieval and modern plagues were not the same. However, his arguments have been disputed, and the questions raised have revealed certain deficiencies in his work, although ultimately, the bulk of his material remains essential to the historiography of the field and many of his conclusions are still valid. A more nuanced view of modern plague that demonstrates there are multiple strains today has criticized some of Cohn's methodology. In turn, this leads into a discussion of Cohn's use of the medieval sources and the issue of plague aetiology and the location of the buboes. This is based upon the concept that the descriptions in the literary sources are insufficient, and that it is necessary to examine the factors that permit or hinder the spread of a disease. From there, it is necessary to continue to examine the historical sources and the methods used to critique them by looking at the role of the rat. Finally, the most recent DNA evidence and how this pertains to the validity of *The Black Death Transformed* is considered.

One of the more inconclusive criticisms of Samuel Cohn's theses came from John M. Theilmann and Cate Frances in 2007. [1] While the authors uphold the traditional conclusion of the twentieth-century historiography that the Black Death was *Yersinia Pestis*, they approach the problem from an epidemiological background. [2] However, there are some indications that the means of identifying ancient diseases from the historical evidence remains a matter of open debate. [2] While Cohn is not directly cited in this argument, Theilmann and Frances broadly accept Cohn's contribution to the historiography by concluding early on that it is impossible to argue that the modern

plague and the medieval plague are the same.[2] They propose that there are several biovars of the modern plague, each endemic to particular regions in the world. [2] The point that they raise is relevant to Cohn's thesis, as his evidence for the modern plague is based upon the experience of the British in India at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century and Yersin's own experiences in Southeast Asia and Manchuria. 2] India may provide the most readily-available documentation, [2] but it is hazardous to assume that the evidence made available by study of the South Asian strain is the complete paradigm of modern plague. Theilmann and Frances argue that their sources suggest that the south Asian strain of the modern plague is less virulent than the modern strain of the biovar *Medievalis* which exists today around the Caspian Sea. [2] The most recent scientific investigation based on DNA evidence suggests that the examples of *Yersinia Pestis* found in dental pulp in England are related to the biovar *Medievalis*. [2] This is an important aspect that will need to be considered in future research, and one that Cohn could not be aware of. However, access to this information remains limited on account of the location of this biovar of modern plague. [2] The Caspian region spent much of the previous century under Soviet hegemony, and thus access for western scholars was limited. Although the world of the former Soviet Union has been more open since 1989 than it was previously, much Soviet plague scholarship appears not to have been read by western plague historians. [2] Theilmann and Frances appear to have no first-hand knowledge of the Soviet material, and their citations from this derive from English-language scholarship. [2] In this particular

instance, Theilmann and Frances illuminate a glaring hole in Cohn's scholarship by demonstrating that there are other forms of plague today which may be more closely related to the medieval plague than others. Cohn cannot be too harshly criticized for not taking the body of Soviet work into account given the possible linguistic barriers and the difficulty in acquiring the scholarship, for even five years after the publication of *The Black Death Transformed*, Theilmann and Frances have little specific information on this issue. Nonetheless, it is important to note this gap in Cohn's work and the methodological failing that is the result of this, for understanding that "modern plague" in Cohn's work should not necessarily be taken as synonymous with "South Asian plague" is an important consideration in future research.



The final argument that the authors make is that the Black Death should be considered to be *Yersinia Pestis* until conclusively proven otherwise.[1] The penultimate argument leading up to this includes the acknowledgement that while the biovar *Medievalis* may have mutated in the fourteenth century into a particularly virulent strain of plague, the mass mortality needs further explanation due to the significantly lower death rates of its modern form, and thus it is possible that another disease accompanied the Black Death to contribute to the high mortality rates. [1] This is a claim that demands evidence, but Theilmann and Frances provide none, and admit that such a thing would be difficult to prove. [1] The article somewhat ungratefully concludes with this point. While they did provide some useful information towards understanding Samuel Cohn's thesis, their tacit acceptance at the beginning of their study that the medieval plague has been conclusively demonstrated to be different from the modern plague, [1] and the ending statement that still accepts *Yersinia Pestis* as the disease does disservice to Cohn's contribution to the historiography while at the same time inferring that contribution. [1] Theilmann and Frances are also remarkably critical of the historical sources, and this point provides a solid position from which to launch into the discussion of Cohn's historical methodology and results. They argue that the symptomatic evidence is so bad that the Black Death could be diagnosed

as just about anything, and that the chroniclers had their own agenda and did not provide extensive information. [1] They agree with Cohn on the idea that epidemiological evidence is needed to gain a better understanding of the plague's aetiology. [1] Nonetheless, Cohn's thesis regarding plague symptoms rests upon the historical data that Theilmann and Frances are so eager to dismiss, and thus it is worth taking a good look again at how his results are reflected in available primary documents. No one would deny that the chroniclers did not set out to record the symptoms of the Black Death in a manner that twenty-first century medical scholars would find desirable, but this does not suggest that their data should be so easily dismissed as Theilmann and Frances do. They dismiss the medieval source material with two excessively general statements by using a modern example. The first is that people were more concerned with living than dying, and the second is that by the mid-1920s the influenza epidemic of 1918/19 was disappearing from the public consciousness. [1]



Bacterial Infections **PLAGUE**
Caused by **Gram-Negative** *Yersinia pestis*



Neither of these arguments deserves anything more than derision on account of the pre-supposed value judgment that lies behind them. [1] The first point seems to exist outside of the fourteenth-century context, and completely ignores the *ars moriendi* and the concern that the Black Death inspired for being prepared to die a good Christian death. [1] Recent research has also demonstrated the rapid and popular spread of new art forms, which were so popular on the continent that they spread to Scandinavia, which does not appear to have suffered from the plague as significantly as the more southern regions. [1] The second assumes that, in manner similar to the 1920s influenza outbreak, the Black Death disappeared from the public consciousness rather quickly, and by extension, that this prevented the writing of accurate history. This hardly seems to be the case given the radical changes that the Black Death had upon medieval art, as well as Cohn's own ideas regarding its intellectual effects. [1] Additionally, it is difficult to support the idea that the plague was quickly



forgotten in light of what the chroniclers have to say concerning the 1361 plague: the fact that a number of them note that it was a disease of children suggests that there was an intact memory (as well as written evidence) of the 1347-8 plague to compare the new experience to. The written evidence for this is sufficient to argue that the second plague was different. A number of English sources recount the death of children, including Henry Knighton and the *Anonimale Chronicle*. This is important in relation to Cohn's overarching thesis, because much of his work is based upon the contemporary documentation. Had Theilmann and Frances been able to conclusively argue that the sources were so unreliable that they cannot be used, Cohn's thesis would fall purely for want of medieval evidence. On the contrary, the arguments that they provide to support this idea are weak, and it is worth proceeding on to a closer examination of Cohn's thesis and his treatment of the primary source material.

The plague descriptions provided by the textual sources typically operate within a set of parameters of symptoms. While it is impossible to even consider surveying the vast quantity of texts that Cohn used in his study, a brief examination can provide some evidence as to whether his conclusions on plague aetiology may broadly be valid. Cohn argues that the information provided by the chroniclers is not of the highest quality when referring to the plague boils, as they fail to provide much specific medical detail on location and frequency. [1] A broad survey of the major chroniclers does not support this. In Piacenza, the lawyer Gabriele de' Mussis recorded swellings in the armpits and the groin, followed by a fever. [2] Also in Italy, Boccaccio too reported swellings in the groin or armpit, as well as blotches over the entirety of the body. [1] In Padua, tumors under the armpits and in the groin are also reported, and this pattern is repeated in Sicily. [1] A letter recounting the plague in Avignon, on the other hand, discusses three varieties of plague, one of which involved a boil in the armpit, another which involved a boil in the groin, and a final type that had no visible physical symptoms. [1] Jean de Venette reported lumps in the armpit and the groin. [1] In southern Austria, a chronicle reported that red swellings around the groin and armpit were common. [1] On the other hand, the evidence is generally much poorer in England.

The visual evidence is more problematic. From a series of undated and unidentified manuscript illuminations, the textual pattern is roughly supported. One image (figure four) clearly depicts the lancing of a bubo on a woman's neck. However, the same image also shows what appears to be a bubo in the armpit of a man. Figures five, six, and seven have buboes appearing in the armpit. On the other hand, figures one, two, and three depict spots all over the body. All of these images present problems, however. Other than the last two, none can be conclusively dated to the fourteenth century. Their relation to the text of the manuscript is unknown, in the sense that it is impossible to know if they are actually referring to the Black Death. As such, no context exists for these images. Another limitation is modesty. Not a single bubo appears in the groin region. Unlike Cohn's assertion that the neck is where the buboes appear most frequently, the armpit appears to be the most



common location in these images. Additionally, there are only a few of these images. More would need to be collected to arrive at any sort of solid conclusions. The extent to which this should be taken as evidence against Cohn's thesis is unclear due to these methodological hazards. [1]

From a statistical standpoint, it is impossible to match Cohn's enormous breadth of material, but from the above survey there appears to be significant consistency in the material. Just under half of the sources mention the swellings in the groin and the armpits. However, it should be noted that this is in no way a valid means of evaluating statistics in the same manner as Cohn did, for while it seems probable that Rosemary Horrox selected more substantial and important sources for her translations there is no means to prove this. [1] Nonetheless, this raises a relevant point in light of Cohn's methods: just how substantial are his sources, and how valid is it to form a judgment based upon the sheer volume of sources? While it would be unjust to say that Cohn's approach ignores good historical reasoning entirely, this form of analysis should not be used alone. Such quantitative reasoning can lead to more barren and limited sources being given equal weight when read beside sources of high quality. A more nuanced reading is needed based upon the chroniclers individually. Scrutiny needs to be applied to each and every chronicler and their reliability needs to be assessed. Aspects such the reliability of the chronicler's sources, their own personal experience with the plague, and whether they had any particular medical experience or reason to preserve accurate history need to be considered. Without such close scrutiny it is impossible to determine whether a source may or may not be reliable or useful for understanding the aetiology of the Black Death, and it is equally impossible to determine just how accurate Cohn's data is. Should the majority of his sources prove to be substantial pieces of work written by individuals with significant personal experience of the plague, then there is good reason to believe that his conclusion in this regard is valid. However, given the available data presented in Horrox's *The Black Death*, there is at least a sizable minority of sources that appear to be well-informed that all identify the same symptom of the buboes appearing in the arm or the groin. It is difficult to eliminate the possibility that Cohn may be attempting to support his thesis that the Black Death was not the modern plague given that the modern plague causes boils to form in those places more frequently than anywhere else by degrading the quality of sources that otherwise appear to be reliable. [1] His claim that the neck appears as the most frequent place for the boils to appear is not matched by this limited survey of the primary evidence. This is relevant to Cohn's overarching thesis because he argues that the evidence from the modern plague in India reveals a single bubo forming, primarily in the groin. [2] As the medieval plague symptoms place buboes in other places, Cohn argues that the two diseases are different. However, given the abundant evidence for buboes in the groin and the Theilmann and Frances' assertion that there are different strains of modern plague, Cohn's ideas may need to be re-evaluated on this point.



Modern scholarship has also taken issue with Cohn's idea that the black rat had no role to play in the transmission of the plague. He argues that rat movement and death is a feature of the modern plague. [1] The issue for Cohn is that there is a lack of information in the historical sources concerning rats, as opposed to evidence for the death of other animals. [1] Additionally, he connects rats to grain, and concludes by comparing the plague in modern India to the fourteen century plague in Florence. Based upon a study of the testaments, Cohn finds that the first deaths in Florence did not occur near the granaries, whereas in India those closely associated with the transport and storage of grain were the first to become ill. [1] Similarly, it was observed in the 1960s that the plague in Vietnam was closely associated with the grain trade. [1] In regards to the lack of mention of the rat in the sources, Cohn's position that there is evidence of animals catching the plague and presumably dying from it has some merit. However, to counter Cohn, a Benedictine chronicler in England noted animal mortality, although he does not provide enough specific data to determine whether the death of the animals was plague-induced or simply related to their abandonment. [1] In addition to the fact that there are certainly cases of animals being reported as abandoned and wandering, [1] it cannot be entirely dismissed that the animal deaths may have occurred on account of something other than plague given that the chronicler includes their deaths in a list of other effects of the plague after it had passed. Also in England, Henry Knighton reports a great mortality amongst sheep, and suggests that the failure of the scavengers to consume them was on account of their corruption. [1] What exactly Knighton means by "corruption" is unclear, although he may be implying that the plague had some role in the destruction of the flock. It is equally possible that the scavengers sensed something was wrong with the sheep on account of their death by plague or simply that the scavenger populations had been hit by the plague too and were thus less noticeable. Thomas Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana* recorded that the plague of 1369 killed larger animals. [1] Although his episode is remarkably dramatic, there is no good reason to disbelieve Boccaccio's statement that the Black Death could kill pigs. [1]



MEDICO DELLA PESTE
(Plague Doctor Mask)

The doctor wears a bird mask, the beak of which would have been filled with aromatic herbs or flowers as one theory for the cause of plague was inhaling miasmas, or clouds, of noxious air. Other theories were that plague was spread through livestock and that it was God's punishment for sin. As well as carrying posies to sniff, people tried to prevent infection by fasting and praying, there was a cull of cats and dogs and inns and lodging houses were closed. The bacillus flourished in the heat of summer but as the weather turned colder, incidents of plague declined.

Thus judging from a brief survey of available historical sources, there is every reason to believe Cohn when he states that animal deaths were noticed by the chroniclers, although he does note that this is often confined to larger animals. [1] He argues that the lack of rat death is notable because other sources refer to them in different contexts. He does not deny that rats were present merely that they were the agents of transmission of the plague. [1] Modern scholarship has seriously criticized Cohn for reading too much into this failure of the plague sources to mention rat death by turning to archaeology and other sources for the modern plague. Ole Moseng argues that only the plague strain in India requires rats and the rat flea (*xenopsylla cheopis*) to spread the disease, but that it has been demonstrated that human fleas are able to transmit the disease from human to human as well. [1] At the same time he argues that the black rat was certainly prevalent in Europe during the late middle ages. [1] Moseng's primary criticism is of Cohn's assumption that the plague would have to behave as plague in India. [1] However, in doing this he tacitly acknowledges Cohn's contribution to the historiography by stating that *Yersinia Pestis* is highly versatile by citing the example of the Manchurian experience where it developed into pneumonic plague in the 1910s, [1] thus recognizing that the medieval plague cannot be entirely understood by looking at the modern one.

Alongside Moseng, Michael McCormick examines archaeological findings, and demonstrates rather definitively that the black rat (*rattus rattus*) existed in Europe since the Roman period. [1] The problem, he argues, is that the rat has escaped the attention of the ancient and medieval archaeologists until recently, as the rat bones are extremely small and easy to miss. [1]

Nonetheless, the demonstration that the black rat was present in Europe during the fourteenth century brings McCormick to the question of why the rats do not appear in the sources. He argues that there was a lack of interest in rodents, and that both Latin and Greek do not have a proper term for the rat, although occasional mentions do appear. [1] Since McCormick raised this issue, it is important to point out that John of Ephesos, a witness to the sixth-century "plague of Justinian," remarked on rats dying with tumors. [1] McCormick takes this as evidence "that late Roman eyewitnesses were indeed struck by the *rodent* mortality that accompanied the Justinianic plague." [1]



While it appears that he desires to connect this concept to the fourteenth century, and it is a particularly relevant point in regards to Cohn's thesis, regardless of whether the "first" and "second" pandemics were caused by the same disease. However, it is important to note that McCormick's suggestion derails his thesis. John of Ephesos wrote in Syriac. [1] None of the Greek or Latin historians, despite some (Prokopios, Ioannes Malalas, Agathias, Evagrius Scholasticus) being as well-placed to record the plague as any of the contemporary fourteenth-century historians, mention the rats. In this case, it appears that McCormick's point actually reinforces Cohn's ideas although this is an area where further research is needed. One of Cohn's examples that argue for rats and mice being present is written in English. [1] If Ziegler's argument that following the plague the vernacular languages began to see more use is valid, [1] then why is there no information written in the vernacular about rats? McCormick admits that there is evidence for non-Latin European languages possessing the word "rat" as early as the eleventh century. [1] If indeed the chroniclers chose to omit such details because Latin does not have a satisfactory term for rat (a proposition itself that is highly questionable; further study on the use of archaizing language in fourteenth-century medieval Latin sources is clearly needed [1]) then the example of John of Ephesos demonstrates that there is reason to believe that such detail could be recorded in a different language. Given that such things do not appear, Cohn's thesis that the rat's role in the transmission of plague based upon the lack of rodent death in the literary sources seems increasingly solid.

Regarding the rat, conclusions are difficult. Cohn's argument that the lack of rat epizootics in the literary sources is actually strengthened in light of McCormick's argument that the sources had no reason to mention it on account of linguistic limitations.

Given the sixth-century parallel, the lack of information on rat death in non-Latin sources now appears striking. The plague still needed to spread somehow, and Moseng's ideas about plague mutation provide the best solutions, although they lack conclusions and much further research is needed. He argues that *pulex irritans*, the human flea, can spread from human to human and does not need a rat carrier. Given the consistent evidence in the sources for households dying together and the rapid spread of the plague, this is a possible solution. More likely, however, are Moseng's ideas of the plague's capacity to adapt and change and thus it is entirely possible that both parties are to some degree correct. Until a complete scientific understanding of the plague is complete, there is no evidence that the rats did not equally transmit the plague and not die from it. It is necessary to turn to DNA analysis.





Recent results from DNA analysis do not damage the structure of Cohn's thesis. While he does not believe that modern and medieval plagues are the same disease, he does not suggest an alternative. DNA evidence that found *Yersinia Pestis* in plague graves in Marseilles from the sixteenth to eighteenth century was available at the time of the writing of Cohn's book, although he chose to await further confirmation. Given the limited scope of the DNA research available in 2002 and the arguments put forward regarding genetic mutation, Ann Carmichael's criticism of Cohn's failure to accept the Marseilles data at face value is unduly harsh. Additional evidence has recently appeared from plague graves in England that also turn up *Yersinia Pestis* in dental root pulp. However, this same study has suggested that the genetic code found in the English plague burials is not consistent with the modern plague. From these results, it is clear that the evidence seems to be mounting against Cohn's thesis that the medieval plague was not *Yersinia Pestis*. Furthermore, this does not mean that Cohn's entire work needs to be rejected, for his arguments concerning the differences in behaviour between the medieval and modern plagues remain potent.

In conclusion, the challenges put forth by current scholarship have provided important additions to Cohn's work and have spurred on valuable work in the field. The idea that the Black Death was precisely the same pathogen as the modern plague is still being challenged, although scholars such as Ole Moseng and John Theilmann and Cate Frances have been forced to adopt more nuanced approaches. As those three scholars have demonstrated, variations of the modern plague in different parts of the world today show reveal that there is still work to be done regarding the relationship between medieval and modern plagues. The quantitative analysis Cohn applied to his sources also needs further investigation relating to his ideas about the location and number of the buboes, but it appears to be challengeable. The language used by the sources in describing medieval symptoms needs additional study in this regard, as does a thorough examination of the visual evidence. Cohn's argument that the rat had no role in the transmission of the disease remains hotly contested, and additional work is needed. Minor criticisms remain and much work still needs to be done, but it seems that Cohn's work will stand on as an invaluable contribution to the historiography of the fourteenth-century plague. Cohn's overarching thesis has been accepted by many scholars even if they disagree with small details. Much of the work that remains to be done in the immediate future will have to be carried out in laboratories to determine just what made *Yersinia Pestis* different during the fourteenth-century.



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- 2- J. Wood, et al., "The Temporal Dynamics of the Fourteen-Century Black Death: New Evidence from English Ecclesiastical Records", *Human Biology* 75 (2003), p. 428.
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- 5- *Ibidem*, p. 382.
- 6- S. K. Cohn, *The Black Death Transformed* (New York, USA: Bloomsbury, 2002), p. 25-8
- 7- *Ibidem*, p. 7-9;
- 8- Theilmann, John M.; Frances, Cate, "A Plague of Plagues: The Problem of Plague Diagnosis in Medieval England", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 37.3 (2007), p. 382.
- 9- V. Schuenemann, et al., "Targeted enrichment of ancient pathogens yielding the pPCP1 plasmid of *Yersinia Pestis* from victims of the Black Death", *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 108.38 (2011), p. e746, 749.
- 10- Theilmann and Frances, *Plague Diagnosis*, p. 382.
- 11- *Ibidem*, p. 379.
- 12- *Ibidem*, p. 382, n. 22. It is relevant that one of the articles they cite was published by the Russian Academy of Sciences in 2000 by two scholars with Russian-sounding names in English. However, a single article hardly seems indicative of the bulk of the research that may have been conducted by Soviet scholars and later scholars of the Russian Federation. It is also unsound to assume that just because the names of the two scholars who wrote the cited article sound to western ears with no experience in the Russian language, they are Russian.
- 13- Theilmann and Frances, *Plague Diagnosis*, p. 392.
- 14- *Ibidem*, p. 386-7.
- 15- *Ibidem*, p. 393.
- 16- *Ibidem*, p. 379, 390.
- 17- One minor point that needs to be raised in regard to this article is that the authors mistakenly place the plague of Justinian in the fourth century, instead of the sixth (p. 382).
- 18- *Ibidem*, p. 392.
- 19- S. Cohn, *Black Death Transformed*, p. 248
- 20- Theilmann and Frances, *Plague Diagnosis*, p. 392. It is impossible to further flesh out what the authors' mean on the point that people were more concerned with living than dying, on account of just how general it is. They did not elucidate their argument here, and thus it is impossible to describe further because there is nothing remaining to describe.
- 21- This point is, of course, impossible to prove without looking at a wide variety of the authors' works. Nonetheless, the sense that they see the medieval mind as simplistic, and that by extension, the medieval writings are thus of little value is hard to escape. In general, these two points seem to be an attempt to avoid serious interaction with the historical material.
- 22- See specifically in Horrox, documents 124 and 125.
- 23- E. Nyborg, "The Black Death as Reflected in Scandinavian Art and Architecture", *Living with the Black Death* (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2009), p. 202, 204, 205-6
- 24- S. Cohn, *Black Death Transformed*, p. 229-231, 235, 240, 244; Jon Arrizabalaga, review of *The Black Death Transformed: Disease and Culture in Early Renaissance Europe*, by Samuel K. Cohn, Jr. *Speculum* 79.4 (2004): 1054. Cohn ultimately argues that the experience of the Black Death in Western Europe led to investigation of other possible causes other than God, eastern events, or cosmic alignment. He notes that famine, war, and corrupt food began to be considered. Cohn also argues that the Black Death broke the system of medieval medicine that relied on the ancients, as those texts failed to help. Once freed from convention, medieval medicine surpassed the ancients. S. Cohn, *Black Death Transformed*, p. 228-231, 235, 240.
- 25- Henry Knighton, *Chronicon Henrici Knighton vel Cnithon monachi Leycestrensis*. Transl. by Rosemary Horrox (cited in R. Horrox, *The Black Death*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 85. *Anonimale Chronicle*. Transl. by Rosemary Horrox (cited in R. Horrox, *The Black Death*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 85.
- 26- S. Cohn, *Black Death Transformed*, p. 65
- 27- Gabriele de' Muisis, *Historia de Morbo*. Transl. by Rosemary Horrox (cited in R. Horrox, *The Black Death*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 17
- 28- Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron*. Transl. by G.H. McWilliam (New York: Harmondsworth, 1972, cited in R. Horrox, *The Black Death*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 27
- 29- Gilielmus et Abriquetus Cortusiorum, *Historia de Novitatibus Paduae et Lombardiae ab anno MCCLVI usque ad MCCCLXIV*. Transl. by Rosemary Horrox (cited in R. Horrox, *The Black Death*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 35; Michele da Piazza, *Cronaca*. Transl. by Rosemary Horrox (cited in R. Horrox, *The Black Death*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 36.
- 30- Anonymous, *Breve Chronicon Clerici Anonymi*. Transl. by Rosemary Horrox (cited in R. Horrox, *The Black Death*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 43



- 31- Jean de Venette, *Chronique*. Transl. by Rosemary Horrox (cited in R. Horrox, *The Black Death*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 55
- 32- Anonymous, *Continuatio Novimontensis*. Transl. by Rosemary Horrox (cited in R. Horrox, *The Black Death*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 60
- 33- An additional problem is that I simply do not have any experience in using visual materials as source material, and especially not late medieval manuscript illuminations. The hazards in jumping to conclusions based upon a body of material that I do not understand are legion.
- 34- In this case, we are simply at the mercy of the materials in the sourcebook.
- 35- S. Cohn, *Black Death Transformed*, p. 65
- 36- *Ibidem*, p. 247.
- 37- *Ibidem*, p. 59, 77, 247.
- 38- *Ibidem*, p. 23.
- 39- *Ibidem*, p. 131-133.
- 40- *Ibidem*, p. 206.
- 41- J. Marshall, et al., "Plague in Vietnam 1965-1966", *American Journal of Epidemiology* 56.8 (1967), p. 615.
- 42- Ralph Higden, *Polychronicon*. Transl. by Rosemary Horrox (cited in R. Horrox, *The Black Death*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 63.
- 43- Around Avignon: Gilles li Muisis, *Recueil des Chroniques de Flandre*. Transl. by Rosemary Horrox (cited in R. Horrox, *The Black Death*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 47
- 44- Henry Knighton, *Chronicon*, p. 77.
- 45- Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*. Transl. by Rosemary Horrox (cited in R. Horrox, *The Black Death*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 88.
- 46- Giovanni Boccaccio, (cited in R. Horrox, *The Black Death*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 28.
- 47- S. Cohn, *Black Death Transformed*, p. 81-2, 131-133.
- 48- *Ibidem*, p. 82
- 49- O. Moseng, "Climate, ecology, and plague: the second and third pandemic reconsidered", *Living with the Black Death* (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2009), p. 23-24, 38.
- 50- *Ibidem*, p. 30.
- 51- *Ibidem*, p. 27-28.
- 52- *Ibidem*, p. 23.
- 53- M. McCormick, "Rats, communication, and plague: towards an ecological history", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 34.1 (2003), p. 1, 11; O. Moseng, *Second and Third Pandemic*, p. 30.
- 54- M. McCormick, *Rats*, p. 6.
- 55- *Ibidem*, p. 4.
- 56- R. Salles, "Ecology, Evolution, and Epidemiology of Plague", *Plague and the End of Antiquity*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 269.
- 57- M. McCormick, *Rats*, p. 4.
- 58- G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (Rahway, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1969), p. 24.
- 59- S. Cohn, *Black Death Transformed*, p. 82
- 60- P. Ziegler, *The Black Death* (New York: Harper, 1969), p. 253.
- 61- M. McCormick, *Rats*, p. 4
- 62- Alongside this, much work remains to be done on the terminological aspects of the symptoms described in the sources, as Ann Carmichael has argued: A. Carmichael, *Plague and more plagues*, p. 258. The question of to what extent the medieval chroniclers were constrained by their language is a difficult one to answer. It is also difficult to ascertain just what is meant by "boil", "carbuncle", "pustule", and "gavocciolo" in Cohn's book. Further clarity is needed.
- 63- O. Moseng, *Second and Third Pandemic*, p. 38
- 64- S. Cohn, *Black Death Transformed*, p. 118
- 65- *Ibidem*, p. 248
- 66- A. Carmichael, *Plague and more plagues*, p. 256.
- 67- Schunemann, et al., Targeted enrichment of ancient pathogens yielding the pPCP1 plasmid of *Yersinia Pestis* from victims of the Black Death. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 108.38 (2011), p. e747.
- 68- *Ibidem*, p. e.751.



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HISTORY 4 Kids



Leonard Bernstein's Debut

Many people's careers begin after they get a "break." On November 14, 1943, Leonard Bernstein made his debut as a conductor for the New York Philharmonic at Carnegie Hall in New York City. This was Bernstein's "big break," and a major turning point in his career. He got this break because he was substituting for another conductor, Bruno Walter, who had fallen ill.

Bernstein had been appointed Assistant Conductor for the New York Philharmonic only a few months before that night. Just 25 years old, he was relatively inexperienced. At the last minute, Bernstein was told he was to take Walter's place, so he did not have any time to rehearse. The music he was going to conduct was very difficult. Plus, the concert was going to be broadcast nationally on the radio. Despite all these pressures, Bernstein rose to the occasion and received a standing ovation at the end of the concert. The event made national headlines, and Bernstein became famous overnight.

Some people feel they do their best under the most stressful of circumstances. Have you ever been asked to do something you weren't prepared to do? How well were you able to perform? What was it about Leonard Bernstein that made him do so well in such a difficult situation?



In this inscription, Bernstein thanked the New York Philharmonic for his "great opportunity."



Leonard Bernstein conducting the New York City Symphony in 1945.

Perhaps Leonard Bernstein did so well because music was his passion. The son of a man who supplied hairdressing products, Bernstein became interested in music at the age of 10. By the time he was a teenager, he was performing in public. He became a soloist with the Boston Public School Orchestra, and for 13 weeks in 1934, played classics on the radio.

What things do you most like to do? Play sports? Write? Play an instrument? Do you do this activity well because you enjoy it?



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